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GIFT OF
Mrs. W. Barstow

Henry Bowstow.

THE

GENUINE WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

THE

LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN, AND CELEBRATED WARRIOR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK, ACCORDING TO HAVERCAMP'S ACCURATE EDITION.

WITH COPIOUS NOTES, & PROPER OBSERVATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

CONTAINING THE LAST NINE BOOKS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, WITH THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED BY

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THE

WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

CONTAINING

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XII.

Containing the Interval of an hundred and seventy years.

[FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.]

CHAPTER I.

How Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judea by deceit and treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.

§ 1. NOW when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia, Seleucus Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy the son of Lagus seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, in so much that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Saviour, which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a Sabbath day, as if he would offer sac-

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rifice, he, without any trouble, gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him; and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus: "There is a nation called the *nation* of the *Jews*, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under an hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerizzim, he led them all into* Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were† most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassage to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle, so he distributed many of them into garrisons; and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed these places to their care. Nay there were not a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another; while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to mount Gerizzim.

* The great number of these Jews and Samaritans that were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, appear afterwards, in the vast multitude who, as we shall see presently, were soon ransomed by Philadelphus, and by him made free, before he sent for the seventy-two interpreters: In the many garrisons, and other soldiers of that nation in Egypt: In the famous settlement of Jews, and the number of their synagogues at Alexandria, long afterward; and in the vehement contention between the Jews and Samaritans under Philometer, about the place appointed for public worship in the law of Moses; whether at the Jewish temple of Jerusalem, or at the Samaritan temple at Gerizzim; of all which our author treats hereafter. And as to the Samaritans carried into Egypt under the same princes, Scaliger supposes, that those who have a great synagogue at Cairo, as also those whom the Arabic geographer speaks of, as having seized on an island in the Red Sea, are remains of them at this very day, as the notes here inform us.

† Of the sacredness of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Politics, p. 54, 65.

CHAPTER II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the laws of the Jews to be tranſlated into the Greek Tongue; and ſet many captives free; and dedicated many gifts to God.

§ 1. WHEN Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the* law to be interpreted; and ſet free thoſe that were come from Jeruſalem into Egypt, and were in ſlavery there, who were an hundred and twenty thouſand. The occaſion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library keeper to the king, was now endeavoring, if it were poſſible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatſoever was any where valuable or agreeable to the king's inclination (who was very earneſtly ſet upon collecting of books) to which inclination of his Demetrius was zealously ſubſervient. And when once Ptolemy aſked him, How many ten thouſands of books he had collected? He replied, That he had already about twenty times ten thouſand, but that, in a little time, he ſhould have fifty times ten thouſand. But he ſaid, he had been informed, that there were many books of laws among the Jews, worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cauſe no ſmall pains in getting them tranſlated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written ſeems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians, and that its ſound, when pronounced, is like theirs alſo; and that this ſound appears to be peculiar to themſelves. Wherefore he ſaid, that nothing hindered why they might not get thoſe books to be tranſlated alſo, for while nothing is wanting that is neceſſary for that purpoſe, we may have their books alſo in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he ſuggeſted what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewiſh High Prieſt, that he ſhould act accordingly.

* Of the tranſlation of the other parts of the Old Teſtament by ſeventy Egyptian Jews, in the reigns of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, and Philadelphus; as alſo of the tranſlation of the Pentateuch by ſeventytwo Jeruſalem Jews, in the ſeventh year of Philadelphus at Alexandria as given us an account of by Ariſteas, and thence by Philo and Joſephus, with a vindication of Ariſteas' hiſtory, ſee the Appendix to Jul. Accomp. of Proph. at large, p. 117—152.

2. Now there was one Ariſteus, who was among the king's moſt intimate friends, and on account of his modeſty very acceptable to him. This Ariſteus reſolved frequently, and that before now, to petition the king, that he would ſet all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he diſcourſed, in the firſt place, with the captains of the king's guards, Sofibius of Tarentum, and Andreas; and perſuaded them to aſſiſt him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly Ariſteus embraced the ſame opinion with thoſe that have been before mentioned; and went to the king, and made the following ſpeech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things haſtily, or to deceive ourſelves, but to lay the truth open: For ſince we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews tranſcribed, but interpreted alſo, for thy ſatisfaction, by what means can we do this, while ſo many of the Jews are now ſlaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature: Free them from the miſerable condition they are in, becauſe that God, who ſupporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both theſe people, and we alſo, worſhip the ſame God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly by the name of Ζεὺς [or life, or Jupiter] becauſe he breaths life into all men. Wherefore do thou reſtore theſe men to their own country; and this do to the honor of God, becauſe theſe men pay a peculiarly excellent worſhip to him. And know this farther, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the ſame country with them, yet do I deſire theſe favors to be done them, ſince all men are the workmanſhip of God, and I am ſenſible that he is well pleaſed with thoſe that do good. I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

3. When Ariſteus was ſaying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and ſaid, "How many ten thouſands doſt thou ſuppoſe there are of ſuch as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he ſtood bye, and ſaid, "A few more than ten times ten thouſand." The king made anſwer, "And is this a ſmall gift that thou aſkeſt, Ariſteus?" But Sofibius, and the reſt that ſtood bye, ſaid, That "he ought to offer ſuch a thank offering as was worthy of his greatneſs of ſoul to that God who had given him his kingdom." With this anſwer he was much pleaſed; and gave order, that when they paid the ſoldiers their wages, they ſhould lay down [an* hundred and] twenty

* Although this number 120 drachmæ [of Alexandria, or 60 Jewiſh ſhekels] be here three times repeated, and that in all Joſephus's copies Greek and Latin, yet ſince all the copies, of Ariſteus, whence Joſephus took his relation,

drachmæ for every one of the ſlaves. And he promiſed to publiſh a magnificent decree, about what they requeſted, which ſhould confirm what Ariſteus had propoſed, and eſpecially what God willed ſhould be done; whereby he ſaid he would not only ſet thoſe free who had been led away captive by his father, and his army, but thoſe who were in his kingdom before and thoſe alſo, if any ſuch there were, who had been brought away ſince. And when they ſaid, that their redemption money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preſerve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all thoſe who were ſoldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phœnicia, and laid waſte Judea, took the Jews captives, and made them ſlaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then ſold them; as alſo all thoſe that were in my kingdom before them: And if there be any that have been lately brought thither, be made free by thoſe that poſſeſs them; and let them accept of [an hundred and] twenty drachmæ for every ſlave. And let the ſoldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the reſt out of the king's treaſury: For I ſuppoſe that they were made captives without our father's conſent, and againſt equity; and that their country was harraſſed by the inſolence of the ſoldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the ſoldiers have made a great profit by them." Out of regard therefore to juſtice, and out of pity to thoſe that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin thoſe that have ſuch Jews in their ſervice to ſet them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before mentioned ſum; and that no one uſe any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will, that they give in their names within three days, after the publication of this edict, to ſuch as are appointed to execute the ſame, and to produce the ſlaves before them alſo, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs: And let every one that will inform againſt thoſe that do not obey this decree; and I will, that their eſtates be confiſcated into the king's treaſury." When this decree was read to the king, it at firſt contained the reſt that is here inſerted, and omitted only thoſe Jews that had formerly been brought, and thoſe brought afterwards, which had not been diſtinctly mentioned, ſo he

have this ſum ſeveral times, and ſtill as no more than 20 drachmæ, or 10 Jewiſh ſhekels; and ſince the ſum of the talents, to be ſet down preſently, which is little above 460, or ſomewhat more than 100,000 ſlaves, and is nearly the ſame in Joſephus and Ariſteus, does better agree to 20 than to 120 drachmæ; and ſince the value of a ſlave of old was, at the utmoſt, but 30 ſhekels, or 60 drachmæ, ſee Exod. xxi. 32, while in the preſent circumſtances of theſe Jewiſh ſlaves, and thoſe ſo very numerous, Philadelphus would rather redeem them at a cheaper than at a dearer rate, there is great reaſon to prefer here Ariſteus's copies before Joſephus's.

added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order, that the payment, which was likely to be done in an hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury.—When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days time, the number of the talents paid for the captives being about four hundred and sixty, and this, because their masters required the [hundred and] twenty drachmæ for the children also, the king having, in effect, commanded, that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree, that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books; for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem] and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificers workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose "Demetrius to the great king. When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill your library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God: For which cause it is as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is an holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayest write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skilful of the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeing sense of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

4. When this epiſtle was ſent to the king, he commanded that an epiſtle ſhould be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewiſh high-prieſt, concerning theſe matters; and that they ſhould inform him of the releaſe of the Jews that had been in ſlavery among them. He alſo ſent fifty talents of gold for the making of large baſons, and vials and cups, and an immenſe quantity of precious ſtones. He alſo gave order to thoſe who had the cuſtody of the cheſts that contained thoſe ſtones, to give the artificers leave to chooſe out what ſorts of them they pleaſed. He withal appointed, that an hundred talents in money ſhould be ſent to the temple, for ſacrifices, and for other uſes. Now I will give a deſcription of theſe veſſels, and the manner of their conſtruction, but not till after I have ſet down a copy of the epiſtle which was written to Eleazer the high-prieſt, who had obtained that dignity on the occaſion following: When Onias the high-prieſt was dead, his ſon Simon became his ſucceſſor. He was called * *Simon the Juſt*, becauſe of both his piety towards God, and his kind diſpoſition to thoſe of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young ſon, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are ſpeaking, took the high prieſthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high-prieſt, ſendeth greeting: There were many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Perſians, when they were in power, carried captives. Theſe were honoured by my father; ſome of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he committed his garriſons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and eſpecially thoſe that are thy fellow citizens, of whom I have ſet free above an hundred thouſand that were ſlaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their maſters out of my own revenues; and thoſe that are of a fit age, I have admitted into the number of my ſoldiers. And for ſuch as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court, I have put them in ſuch a poſt, as thinking this [kindneſs done to them] to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am deſirous to do what will be grateful to theſe, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it tranſlated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be repoſited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to chooſe out and ſend to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and ſix in number out of every tribe. Theſe, by their

* We have a very great encomium of this *Simon the Juſt*, the ſon of Onias I. in the fiftieth chapter of the Eccleſiaſticus, through the whole chapter. Nor is it improper to conſult that chapter itſelf upon this occaſion.

age, must be skilful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them: And when this shall be finished I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent those first fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of an hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what thou wouldst have farther, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

5. When this epistle of the king's was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible; "Eleazar the high-priest to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting: If thou and thy *queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions: And when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also shewed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large basons, and the table for the shew-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple. Which things Andreas and Aristeus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us: And truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before; for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately therefore offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind; and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law when it hath been translated; and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

6. This was the reply which the high-priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the

*When we have here and presently mention made of Philadelphus's Queen, and sister Arsinoe, we are to remember, with Spanheim, that Arsinoe was both his sister and his wife, according to the old custom of Persia, and of Egypt at this very time; nay of the Assyrians long afterward. See Antiq. B. XX. ch. ii. § 1. vol. II. Whence we have, upon the coins of Philadelphus, this known inscription, *the divine brother and sister.*

king ſent to God, that all may ſee how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vaſt deal of expences for theſe veſſels; and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works, and ſuffered nothing of careleſſneſs or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this hiſtory may not require ſuch a deſcription, but I imagine I ſhall thereby recommend the elegant taſte and magnanimity of this king to thoſe that read this hiſtory.

7. And firſt I will deſcribe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vaſtly large in its dimenſions; but then he gave orders that they ſhould learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jeruſalem, and how large it was, and whether there were a poſſibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he ſaid, That "he was willing to have one made that ſhould be five times as large as the preſent table, but his fear was, that it might be then uſeleſs in their ſacred miniſtrations, by its too great largeneſs; for he deſired that the gifts he preſented them, ſhould not only be there for ſhow, but ſhould be uſeful alſo in their ſacred miniſtrations." According to which reaſoning, that the former table was made of ſo moderate a ſize for uſe, and not for want of gold, he reſolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeneſs, but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegancy of its materials. And as he was ſagacious in obſerving the nature of all things, and in having a juſt notion of what was new and ſurpriſing; and where there was no ſculptures, he would invent ſuch as were proper, by his own ſkill, and would ſhew them to the workmen, he commanded that ſuch ſculptures ſhould now be made, and that thoſe which were delineated, ſhould be moſt accurately formed, by a conſtant regard to their delineation.

8. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and an half] in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and an half; and the entire ſtructure of the work was of gold. They withal made a crown of an hand-breadth round it, with wave work wreathed about it, and with an engraving imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the ſame diſpoſition of its ſculptures, that when you turned them about, the very ſame form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown work that was incloſed under the table had its ſculptures very beautiful, but that part which went round on the outſide was more elaborately adorned with moſt beautiful ornaments, becauſe it was expoſed to ſight, and to the view of the ſpectators; for which reaſon it was that both thoſe ſides which were extant above the reſt were acute, and

none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another when the table was turned about. Now into the cord-work thus turned were precious stones inserted, in rows parallel one to the other, inclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruits before mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like dispostion of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side shew the same appearance of variety, and elegancy of its ornaments, so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet; for there was made a plate of gold four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons, and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expences bestowed upon it: But upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle like stars, of various colours; the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious, and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of net work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal, and amber, which by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapiters of the feet imitated the first buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraven upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy, and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were nowise different from real tendrils; for they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and

not the repreſentation of art. They alſo made the entire workmanſhip of the table appear to be three-fold, while the joints of the ſeveral parts were ſo united together as to be inviſible, and the places where they joined could not be diſtinguiſhed. Now the thickneſs of the table was not leſs than half a cubit. So that this gift by the king's great generoſity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquiſite ſtructure, and the artificers ſkill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very deſirous that though in largeneſs it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that inexquiſite workmanſhip, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the ſplendour of its conſtruction, it ſhould far exceed it, and be more illuſtrious than that was.

9. Now of the ciſterns of gold there were two, whoſe ſculpture was of ſcale-work, from its baſis to its belt like circle, with various ſorts of ſtones inchaſed in the ſpiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was compoſed of ſtones of all ſorts of colours. And next to this was the rod work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net work, drawn out to the brim of the baſon, while ſmall ſhields made of ſtones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the baſon were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines in a circular manner. And this was the conſtruction of the two ciſterns of gold, each containing two firkins. But thoſe which were of ſilver were much more bright and ſplendid than looking-glaſſes; and you might in them ſee the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king alſo ordered thirty vials; thoſe of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious ſtones, were ſhadowed over with the leaves of ivy, and of vines, artificially engraven. And theſe were the veſſels that were after an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection, partly by the ſkill of the workmen, who were admirable in ſuch fine work, but much more by the diligence and generoſity of the king, who not only ſupplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generoſity, with what they wanted, but he forbad public audiences for the time, and came and ſtood by the workmen, and ſaw the whole operation. And this was the cauſe why the workmen were ſo accurate in their performance, becauſe they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the veſſels, and ſo the more indefatigably kept cloſe to the work.

10. And theſe were what gifts were ſent by Ptolemy to Jeruſalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high prieſt had devoted them to God, and had paid due reſpect to thoſe that brought them, and had given them preſents to be carried to the king, he diſmiſſed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come,

and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristeus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command, that every body who came on occasions should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do, for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in *golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they shewed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures; which could not be perceived, (so exactly were they connected one with another); and this he did for a considerable time. He then said, that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them: And above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy, that they do under sorrows. And when he had bid them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted the men; and said, that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders, that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

11. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers. Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bid him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living. Which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: He took care, that those that belonged to to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that

* The Talmudists say, that it is not lawful to write the law in letters of gold contrary to this certain and very ancient example. See Hudson's and Reland's notes here.

all things ſhould be prepared for them according to the cuſtom of thoſe that came to him, that being feaſted according to the uſual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleaſed, and might not be uneaſy at any thing done to them, from which they were naturally averſe. And this was now done in the caſe of theſe men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office becauſe of his great ſkill in ſuch matters belonging to common life; for he took care of all ſuch matters as concerned the reception of ſtrangers, and appointed them double ſeats for them to ſit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of their ſeats ſhould be ſet at his hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no reſpect ſhould be omitted that could be ſhewn them. And when they were thus ſet down, he bid Dorotheus to miniſter to all thoſe that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they uſed to be miniſtered to: For which cauſe he ſent away their ſacred heralds, and thoſe that ſlew the ſacrifices, and the reſt that uſed to ſay grace: But called to one of thoſe that were come to him, whoſe name was Eleazar, who was a prieſt, and deſired him to * ſay grace; who then ſtood in the midſt of them, and prayed, that "all proſperity might attend the king, and thoſe that were his ſubjects." Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company, with joy and a great noiſe; and when that was over, they fell to eating their ſupper, and to the enjoyment of what was ſet before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a ſufficient time had been interpoſed, he began to talk philoſophically to them, and he aſked every one of them a † philoſophical queſtion, and ſuch an one as might give light in thoſe enquiries; and when they had explained all the problems that had been propoſed by the king about every point, he was well pleaſed with their anſwers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated: And he that pleaſes may learn the particular queſtions in that book of Ariſteus's, which he wrote on this very occaſion.

12. And while not the king only, but the philoſopher Menedemus alſo admired them, and ſaid, that "all things were governed by providence; and that it was probable that thence it was that ſuch force or beauty was diſcovered in theſe mens words," they then left off aſking any more ſuch queſtions. But the king ſaid, that he had gained very great advantages

* This is the moſt ancient example I have met with, of a grace, or ſhort prayer, or thankſgiving before meat; which, as it is uſed to be ſaid by an heathen prieſt, was now ſaid by Eleazar, a Jewiſh prieſt who was one of theſe ſeventy two interpreters. The next example I have met with is that of the Eſſenes, Of the War, B. II. ch. viii. § 5. vol. III. both before and after it; thoſe of our Saviour before it, Mark viii 6. John vi. 11. 23. and St. Paul, Acts xxvii. 35, and a form of ſuch a grace or prayer for Chriſtians, at the end of the fifth book of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, which ſeems to have been intended for both times, both before and after meat.

† They were rather political queſtions and anſwers, tending to the good and religious government of mankind.

by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order, that they should have every one three talents given them; and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long: It was a bank in the sea to an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and shewed them where they should meet, which was in an house that was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them, (now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law,) that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal, and great pains; and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty; besides, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court, and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had * washed their hands, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and they desired, that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priest and the ancientest of the elders, and the principal men of their common weal, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue forever.

13. So the king rejoiced, when he saw that his design of this

* This purification of the interpreters, by washing in the sea before they prayed to God, every morning, and before they set about translating, may be compared with the like practice of Peter the apostle, in the recognitions of Clement, B. IV. ch. iii. and B. V. ch. xxxvi. and with the places of the Proseuchæ, or of prayer, which were sometimes built near the sea or rivers also. Of which matter see Antiq. B. XIV. ch. x. § 23. Vol. II. and Acts xvi. 13. 16.

nature was brought to perfection, to so great advantage; and he was chiefly delighted with hearing the laws read to him; and was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius. "How it came to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one, either of the poets, or of the historians had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, that "no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that "Theopompous was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer,] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause." Nay, indeed he further saw a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer,] he was freed from that affliction.

14. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them; and gave order, that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them: For he said, "It was now but just to send them away, although if, of their own accord, they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them." So he then sent them away; and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazer the high-priest, ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and an hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns, to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave if any of them were desirous, of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such

learning; and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

CHAP. III.

How the Kings of Asia honoured the nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of those Cities which they built.

§ 1. THE Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day: An argument for which you have in this, that whereas the Jews do make use of * oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value would have deprived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the † equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not they take away any of their fore-mentioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their anger; and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to these people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war: Nor would they alter any

* The use of oil was much greater, and the donatives of it much more valuable in Judea, and the neighbouring countries, than it is amongst us. It was also, in the days of Josephus, thought unlawful for Jews to make use of any oil that was prepared by heathens, perhaps on account of some superstitions intermixed with its preparation by those heathens. When therefore the heathens were to make them a donative of oil, they paid them money instead of it. See, Of the War, B. II. ch. xxi. § 2. vol II. the Life of Josephus, § 13. Vol. II. and Hudson's note on the place before us.

† This, and the like great and just characters of the justice and equity, and generosity of the old Romans, both to the Jews and other conquered nations, affords us a very good reason why almighty God, upon the rejection of the Jews for their wickedness, chose them for his people, and first established christianity in that empire. Of which matter, see Josephus here, § 2. as also Antiq. B. XIV. ch. x. § 22, 23. B. XVI. ch. ii. § 4. vol. II.

of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but ſaid, that thoſe who had borne arms againſt them, and fought them, had ſuffered puniſhment already, and that it was not juſt to deprive thoſe that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

2. We alſo know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like diſpoſition towards the Jews: For when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and beſought Agrippa, that they, and they only might have thoſe privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandſon of Seleucus (who by the Greeks was called *the God*,) had beſtowed on them; and deſired, that if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them they might be obliged to worſhip the gods they themſelves worſhipped: But when theſe matters were brought to the trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to make uſe of their own cuſtoms, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damaſcus; for Agrippa gave ſentence, that he could not innovate. And if any one hath a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruſe the hundred and twenty-third, and hundred and twenty-fourth book of the hiſtory of this Nicolaus. Now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not ſo much to be admired, for at that time our nation had not made war againſt the Romans. But one may well be aſtoniſhed at the generoſity of Veſpaſian and Titus, that after ſo great wars and conteſts which they had from us, they ſhould uſe ſuch moderation. But I will now return to that part of my hiſtory, whence I made the preſent digreſſion.

3. Now it happened that in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Aſia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celeſyria, ſuffered greatly, and their land was ſorely harraſſed: For while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopator, and with his ſon, who was called *Epiphanes*, it fell out that theſe nations were equally ſufferers both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: So that they were very like to a ſhip in a ſtorm, which is toſſed by the waves on both ſides; and juſt thus were they in their ſituation in the middle between Antiochus's proſperity, and its change to adverſity. But at length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he ſeized upon Judea: And when Philopator was dead, his ſon ſent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, againſt the inhabitants of Celeſyria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation; which, when he fell upon them, went over to him. Yet was it not long afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and deſtroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus ſubdued thoſe cities of Celeſyria which Scopas had gotten into his poſſeſſion, and Samaria with them, the Jews, of their own accord, went over to him, and received him into the city [Jeruſalem,] and gave plentiful proviſion to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily aſſiſted him when he beſieged the garriſon which was in the citadel of Jeruſalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but juſt to requite the Jews

diligence and zeal in his service: So he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behaviour. I will set down presently the epistles themselves, which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis; for thus does he speak, in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthew the nation of the Jews. He also saith, in the same book, that when Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea and Samaria, and Abila and Gadara; and that, a while afterwards, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called *Jerusalem*: Concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus.

"King Antiochus to Ptolemy, sendeth greeting:

"Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us; and when we came to their city [Jerusalem,] received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabræ of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea itself, and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus tax free: And the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country: And let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred sing-

ers, be discharged from poll-money and the crown tax, and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants; and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperbereteus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom; and give order that their substance be restored to them."

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows: "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of asses, be brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares; and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their fore-fathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmæ of silver." Moreover this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this:

"King Antiochus to Zeuxis his father, sendeth greeting.

"If you are in health, it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care: And upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient; for I am persuaded that they will be well disposed guardians of our possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have born witness to them, that they are faithful, and, with alacrity, do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews; under a promise, that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places fore-mentioned, thou shalt give every one of their

families a place for building their houſes, and a portion of land for their huſbandry, and for the plantation of their vines; and thou ſhalt diſcharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years; and let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their ſervants, until they receive bread-corn out of the earth: Alſo let a ſufficient ſhare be given to ſuch as miniſter to them in the neceſſaries of life, that by enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may ſhew themſelves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care likewiſe of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not have any diſturbance given them by any one." Now theſe teſtimonials which I have produced, are ſufficient to declare the friendſhip that Antiochus the Great bare to the Jews.

CHAP. IV.

How Antiochus made a league with Ptolemy; and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Euergetes to anger; and how Joſeph brought all things right again, and entered into friendſhip with him; and what other things were done by Joſeph, and his ſon Hyrcanus.

§ 1. AFTER this Antiochus made a friendſhip and a league with Ptolemy; and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Celeſyria, and Samaria and Judea, and Phenicia, by way of dowry. And upon the diviſion of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men framed the taxes of their ſeveral countries and collecting the ſum that was ſettled for them, paid the ſame to the [two] kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flouriſhing condition, and much diſtreſſed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off ſlaves. This happened when Onias was high-prieſt; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manaſſeh took the prieſthood, and after he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the ſon of Simon, who was called *the Juſt*; which Simon was the brother of Eleazer, as I ſaid before. This Onias was one of a little ſoul, and a great lover of money; and for that reaſon, becauſe he did not pay that tax of twenty talents of ſilver, which his forefathers paid to theſe kings, out of their own eſtates, he provoked king Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Euergetes ſent an ambaſſador to Jeruſalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would ſeize upon their land, and ſend ſoldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this meſſage of the king's, they were confounded: But ſo ſordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of this nature made him aſhamed.

2. There was now one *Joſeph*, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jeruſalem, for gravity, prudence, and juſtice. His father's name was Tobias; and his

mother was the ſiſter of Onias the high-prieſt, who informed him of the coming of the ambaſſador; for he was then ſojourning at a village named * *Phicol*, where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jeruſalem,] and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preſervation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money. For which preſervation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high-prieſt: But that, in caſe he was ſo great a lover of money, as to endure to ſee his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen ſuffer the greateſt damages, he adviſed him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole, or a part of the ſum demanded. Onias's anſwer was this, That he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high prieſthood; and that he would not go to the king, becauſe he troubled not himſelf at all about ſuch matters. Joſeph then aſked him, If he would not give him leave to go ambaſſador on behalf of the nation? He replied, That he would give him leave. Upon which Joſeph went up into the temple; and called the multitude together, to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be diſturbed nor affrighted, becauſe of his uncle Onias's careleſſneſs, but deſired them to be at reſt, and not terrify themſelves with fear about it; for he promiſed them that he would be their ambaſſador to the king, and perſuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joſeph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambaſſador in an hoſpitable manner. He alſo preſented him with rich gifts; and feaſted him magnificently for many days, and then ſent him to the king before him, and told him that he would ſoon follow him: For he was now more willing to go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambaſſador, who earneſtly perſuaded him to come into Egypt; and promiſed him that he would take care that he ſhould obtain every thing that he deſired of Ptolemy, for he was highly pleaſed with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

3. When Ptolemy's ambaſſador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtleſs temper of Onias; and informed him of the goodneſs of the diſpoſition of Joſeph; and that he was coming to him, to excuſe the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In ſhort, he was ſo very large in his encomiums upon the young man, that he diſpoſed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindneſs for him before he came. So Joſeph ſent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what

* The name of this place, *Phicol*, is the very ſame with that of the chief captain of Abimelech's hoſt, in the days of Abraham, Gen. xxi. 22, and might poſſibly be the place of that Phicol's nativity or abode; for it ſeems to have been in the ſouth part of Paleſtine, as that was.

was neceſſary for his journey, garments, and cups and beaſts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thouſand drachmæ and went to Alexandria. Now it happened, that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king ſold them to the men of the greateſt power in every city. So theſe men ſaw Joſeph journeying on the way. and laughed at him for his poverty and meanneſs. But when he came to Alexandria and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him; which happened as the king was ſitting in his chariot, with his wife and with his friend Athenion, who was the very perſon who had been ambaſſador at Jeruſalem, and been entertained by Joſeph. As ſoon therefore as Athenion ſaw him, he preſently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy ſaluted him firſt, and deſired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joſeph ſat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias. To which he anſwered. Forgive him on account of his age, for thou canſt not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou ſhalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou deſireſt, and ſhalt have no cauſe to complain. With this good humour and pleaſantry of the young man, the king was ſo delighted, that he began already, as though he had long experience of him, to have a ſtill greater affection for him, inſomuch, that he bade him take his diet in the kings palace, and be a gueſt at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria the principal men of Syria, ſaw him ſitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

4. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and thoſe that were the principal men of dignity in their ſeveral countries were to bid for them, the ſum of the taxes together, of Celeſyria and Phenicia, and Judea, with Samaria [as they were bidden for,] came to eight thouſand talents. Hereupon Joſeph accuſed the bidders, as having agreed together to eſtimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promiſed, that he would himſelf give twice as much for them: But for thoſe who did not pay, he would ſend the king home their whole ſubſtance; for this privilege was ſold together with the taxes themſelves. The king was pleaſed to hear that offer; and becauſe it augmented his revenues, he ſaid, he would confirm the ſale of the taxes to him. But then he aſked him this queſtion, Whether he had any ſureties that would be bound for the payment of the money? he anſwered very pleaſantly, I will give ſuch ſecurity and thoſe of perſons good and reſponſible, and which you ſhall have no reaſon to diſtruſt. And when he bid him name them, who they were, he replied, I give thee no other perſons, O king, for my ſureties than thyſelf, and this thy wife; and you ſhall be ſecurity for both parties. So Ptolemy laughed at the

propoſal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any ſureties. This procedure was a ſore grief to thoſe that came from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly diſappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with ſhame.

5. But Joſeph took with him two thouſand foot ſoldiers from the king; for he deſired he might have ſome aſſiſtance, in order to force ſuch as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haſte back into Syria. And when he was at Aſkelon and demanded the taxes of the people of Aſkelon, they refuſed to pay any thing; and affronted him alſo: Upon which he ſeized upon about twenty of the principal men, and ſlew them, and gathered what they had together, and ſent it all to the king; and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired at the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleaſed. When the Syrians heard of this, they were aſtoniſhed; and having before them a ſad example in the men of Aſkelon that were ſlain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joſeph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him thoſe taxes which they formerly uſed to pay, without diſputing about them, he ſlew alſo the principal men of that city, and ſent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vaſt gains by this farming of the taxes; and he made uſe of what eſtate he had thus gotten, in order to ſupport his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occaſion and foundation of his preſent good fortune; and this he did by the aſſiſtance of what he was already poſſeſſed of, for he privately ſent many preſents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchaſed their goodwill to himſelf.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years; and was become the father of ſeven ſons, by one wife: He had alſo another ſon, whoſe name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius's daughter, whom he married on the following occaſion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to ſome of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then ſupped with the king, and falling in love with an actreſs, that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feaſted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, becauſe a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offence, and to be kind and ſubſervient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his deſires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the propoſal of ſerving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joſeph being diſor-

dered with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this did he many times and loved her exceedingly; and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life [if he must part with her], and yet probably the king would not give him leave [to take her with him]. But his brother bid him be in no concern about that matter, and told him, he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love; and married his daughter; and by her begat a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son shewed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such an one as they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue, and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bid him go two days journey into the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with him, he contemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he, thinking that he ought not to lose his time, while they should be sent to bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age older than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birth-day, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age, but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said, they were not cour-

tiers good enough for ſuch converſation, and adviſed him to ſend their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice; and called Hyrcanus and aſked him, whether he would go to the king; and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not? And upon his promiſe that he would go, and his ſaying that he ſhould not want much money for his journey, becauſe he would live moderately; and that ten thouſand drachmæ would be ſufficient, he was pleaſed with his ſon's prudence. After a little while the ſon adviſed his father not to ſend his preſents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his ſteward at Alexandria, that he might furniſh him with money, for purchaſing what ſhould be moſt excellent and moſt precious. So he thinking that the expence of ten talents would be enough for preſents to be made the king; and commending his ſon, as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his ſteward that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not leſs than three thouſand talents on his account, for Joſeph ſent the money he received in Syria, to Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the ſon had aſked his father for a letter to this ſteward, and had received it, he made haſte to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they ſhould deſtroy him.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who aſked him how many talents he would have? (hoping he would aſk for no more than ten, or a little more,) he ſaid he wanted a thouſand talents. At which the ſteward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his eſtate by pains-taking, and reſiſting his inclinations, and wiſhed him to imitate the example of his father: He aſſured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a preſent to the king alſo. The ſon was irritated at this, and threw Arion into priſon. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her entreaty, that ſhe would rebuke the child for what he had done, (for Arion was in great eſteem with her) Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy ſent for Hyrcanus, and told him, that "he wondered when he was ſent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his preſence, but had laid the ſteward in priſon." And he gave order, therefore that he ſhould come to him, and give an account of the reaſon of what he had done. And they report, that the anſwer he made to the king's meſſenger was this: That "there was a law of his that forbad a child that was born, to taſte of the ſacrifice before he had been at the temple and ſacrificed to God. According to which way of reaſoning he did not himſelf come to him, in expectation of the preſent he was to make to him, as to one who had been his father's benefactor; and that he had puniſh-

ed the ſlave for diſobeying his commands, for that it mattered not whether a maſter was little or great: So that unleſs we puniſh ſuch as theſe, thou thyſelf mayeſt alſo expect to be deſpiſed by thy ſubjects." Upon hearing this his anſwer, he fell a laughing, and wondered at the great ſoul of the child.

9. When Arion was appriſed that this was the king's diſpoſition, and that he had no way to help himſelf, he gave the child a thouſand talents, and was let out of priſon. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus came and ſaluted the king and queen. They ſaw him with pleaſure, and feaſted him in an obliging manner, out of the reſpect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought an hundred boys, that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages, each at a talent a piece; as alſo he bought an hundred maidens, each at the ſame price as the other. And when he was invited to leaſt with the king among the principal men of the country, he ſat down the loweſt of them all, becauſe he was little regarded, as a child in age ſtill; and this by thoſe who placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all thoſe that ſat with him had laid the bones of the ſeveral parts on an heap before Hyrcanus, (for they had themſelves taken away the fleſh belonging to them,) till the table where he ſat was filled full with them; Trypho, who was the king's jeſter, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at feſtivals, was now aſked by the gueſts that ſat at the table [to expoſe him to laughter.] So he ſtood by the king, and ſaid, "Doſt thou not ſee, my Lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? by this ſimilitude thou mayeſt conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made theſe bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho ſaid, and aſking of Hyrcanus, "How he came to have ſo many bones before him?" he replied, Very rightfully, my lord: For they are dogs that eat the fleſh and the bones together, as theſe thy gueſts have done, (looking in the mean time at thoſe gueſts,) for there is nothing before them; but they are men that eat the fleſh and caſt away the bones, as I, who am alſo a man, have now done." Upon which the king admired at his anſwer, which was ſo wiſely made; and bid them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jeſt, which was truly a facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and ſaluted them; but ſtill enquired of the ſervants what preſent they would make the king on his ſon's birth-day? and when ſome ſaid, that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one to be grieved that he was not able to bring ſo large a preſent, for that he had no more than five talents. And when the ſervants heard what he ſaid, they told their maſters; and they rejoiced in the proſpect that Joſeph would be diſapproved, and would make the king

angry, by the ſmallneſs of his preſent. When the day came, the others, even thoſe that brought the moſt, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys, and hundred maidens that he had bought, a talent a piece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra: Every body wondered at the unexpected richneſs of the preſents, even the king and queen themſelves. He alſo preſented thoſe that attended about the king with gifts to the value of a great number of talents, that he might eſcape the danger he was in from them; for to theſe it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written to deſtroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity; and commanded him to aſk what gift he pleaſed. But he deſired nothing elſe to be done for him by the king, than to write to his father and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great reſpects, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and his brethren, and all his commanders, and officers about him, he ſent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received ſuch favours from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him, and to deſtroy him, and that with the privity of their father: For he was angry at him for the [large] ſum of money that he beſtowed for preſents, and ſo had no concern for his preſervation. However Joſeph concealed the anger he had at his ſon, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus's brethren came to fight him, he ſlew many others of thoſe that were with them: As alſo two of his brethren themſelves, but the reſt of them eſcaped to Jeruſalem to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city where no body would receive him he was afraid for himſelf, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the Barbarians to pay their taxes.

10. At this time Seleucus, who was called *Soter*, reigned over Aſia, being the ſon of Antiochus *the great*. And [now] Hyrcanus's father Joſeph died. He was a good man and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a ſtate of poverty and meanneſs, to one that was more ſplendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phenicia, and Samaria, twenty-two years. His uncle alſo, Onias, died [about this time,] and left the high prieſthood to his ſon Simon. And when he was dead, Onias his ſon ſucceeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, ſent an embaſſage, with an epiſtle; the copy whereof here follows:

"Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, to Onias, ſendeth greeting:

"We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have diſcovered, that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one ſtock, and are derived from the * kindred of Abraham:

* Whence it comes that theſe Lacedemonians declare themſelves here to be of kin

It is but juſt therefore, that you, "who are our brethren, ſhould ſend to us about any of your concerns as you pleaſe. We will alſo do the ſame thing, and eſteem your concerns as our own; and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your anſwer back to us. This letter is four-ſquare; and the ſeal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws."

11. And theſe were the contents of the epiſtle which was ſent from the king of the Lacedemonians. But upon the death of Joſeph, the people grew ſeditious, on account of his ſons: For whereas the elders made war againſt Hyrcanus, who was the youngeſt of Joſeph's ſons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon the high-prieſt, by reaſon he was of kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jeruſalem any more, but ſeated himſelf beyond Jordan; and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and ſlew many of them, and took many of them captives. He alſo erected a ſtrong caſtle, and built it entirely of white ſtone to the very roof; and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He alſo drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He alſo made caves of many furlongs in length by hollowing a rock that was over againſt him; and then he made large rooms in it, ſome for feaſting, and ſome for ſleeping, and living in. He introduced alſo a vaſt quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But ſtill he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves ſo narrow, that no more than one perſon could enter by them at once: And the reaſon why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preſervation, leſt he ſhould be beſieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vaſtly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this ſtate, he named it *Tyre*. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heſhbon. And he ruled over thoſe parts

to the Jews, as derived from the ſame anceſtor Abraham, I cannot tell, unleſs, as Grotius ſuppoſes, they were derived from the Dores, that came of the Pelaſgi. Theſe are by Herodotus, called *Barbarians*; and perhaps were derived from the Syrians and Arabians, the poſterity of Abraham by Keturah. See Antiq. B. XVI. ch. x. § 22. Vol. II. and Of the War, B. I. ch. xxvi. § 1. Vol. III. and Grot. on 1 Maccab. xii. 7. We may farther obſerve from the recognitions of Clement, that Eliezer, of Damaſcus, the *ſervant* of Abraham, Gen. xv. 2. and xxiv. was of old by ſome taken for his *ſon*. So that if the Lacedemonians were ſprung from him, they might think themſelves to be of the poſterity of Abraham, as well as the Jews, who were ſprung from Iſaac. And perhaps this Eliezer of Damaſcus is that very Damaſcus, whom Trogus pompeius, as abridged by Juſtin, makes the founder of the Jewiſh nation itſelf, though he afterwards blunders, and makes Azelus, Adores, Abraham, and Iſrael, kings of Judea, and ſucceſſors to this Damaſcus. It may not be improper to obſerve farther, that Moſes Choreneſis, in his hiſtory of the Armenians, informs us, that the nation of the Pharthians was alſo derived from Abraham, by Keturah, and her children.

for ſeven years even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, took the kingdom. Ptolemy alſo, the king of Egypt, died, who was beſides called *Epiphanes*. He left two ſons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called *Philometor*, and the younger *Phyſcon*. As for Hyrcanus, when he ſaw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared leſt he ſhould be caught by him, and brought to puniſhment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, and ſlew himſelf with his own hand; while antiochus ſeized upon all his ſubſtance.

CHAP. V.

How, upon the quarrels of the Jews one againſt another about the high prieſthood, Antiochus made an expedition againſt Jeruſalem, took the city, and pillaged the temple, and diſtreſſed the Jews: As alſo, how many of the Jews forſook the laws of their country; and how the Samaritans followed the cuſtoms of the Greeks, and named their temple at Mount Gerrizzim, the temple of Jubiter Hellenius.

§ 1. ABOUT this time, upon the death of Onias the high prieſt, they gave the high prieſthood to Jeſus's brother; for that ſon which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but infant: And, in its proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumſtances that befel this child. But this Jeſus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high prieſthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whoſe name alſo was Onias, for Simon had theſe three ſons, to each of which the prieſthood came, as we have * already informed the reader. This Jeſus changed his name to *Jaſon*; but Onias was called *Menelaus*. Now as the former high prieſt Jeſus, raiſed a ſedition againſt Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the ſons of Tobias took the

* We have hitherto had but a few of thoſe many citations where Joſephus ſays, that he had elſewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his preſent books have not a ſyllable. Our commentators have hitherto been able to give no tolerable account of theſe citations, which are far too numerous, and that uſually in all his copies both Greek and Latin, to be ſuppoſed later interpolations, which is almoſt all that has been hitherto ſaid upon this occaſion. What I have to ſay farther is this, that we have but very few of theſe references *before*, and very many *in* and *after* the hiſtory of Antiochus Epiphanes; and that Joſephus's firſt book, the Hebrew or Chaldee, as well as the Greek hiſtory of the Jewiſh War, long ſince loſt, began with that very hiſtory, ſo that the references are moſt probably made to that edition of the ſeven books of the War. See ſeveral other examples, beſides thoſe in the two ſections before us, in Antiq. B. XIII. ch. ii. § 1. 4. vol. II. and ch. iv. § 6. 8. ch. v. § 6. 11. ch. viii. § 4 and ch. xiii § 4. 5 and Antiq. B. XVIII, ch. ii. § 5. vol. II.

part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason; and by that means Menelaus, and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him, that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living: Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a * Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked, they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone; according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with great accuracy.

3. † King Antiochus returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred forty and third year of the kingdom of the Selucidæ, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

4. Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month, which

* This word *Gymnasium*, properly denotes a place where the exercises were performed *naked*, which, because it would naturally distinguish circumcised Jews from uncircumcised Gentiles, these Jewish apostates endeavoured to appear uncircumcised, by means of chirurgical operation, hinted at by St. Paul, 1. Cor. vii. 18. and described by Celsus, 8 VII. ch, xxv. as Dr Hudson here informs us.

† Hereabout Josephus begins to follow the first book of the Maccabees, a most excellent and most authentic history; and accordingly it is here, with great fidelity and exactness, abridged by him: Between whose present copies there seem to be fewer variations than in any other sacred Hebrew book of the Old Testament whatsoever, (for this book also was originally written in Hebrew which is very natural, because it was written so much nearer to the times of Josephus than the rest were.

is by us called *Chaſleu*, and by the Macedonians *Apelleus*, in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jeruſalem, and, pretending peace, he got poſſeſſion of the city by treachery: At which time he ſpared not ſo much as thoſe that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination (for he ſaw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value): and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare; and took away the golden altar [of incenſe,] and table [of ſhew-bred,] and the altar [of burnt-offering;] and did not abſtain from even the vails, which were made of fine linen and ſcarlet. He alſo emptied it of its ſecret treaſures and left nothing at all remaining; and by this means caſt the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbad them to offer thoſe daily ſacrifices which they uſed to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, ſome of the inhabitants he ſlew, and ſome he carried captive, together with their wives and children, ſo that the multitude of thoſe captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thouſand. He alſo burnt down the fineſt buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built * a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garriſon of Macedonians. However, in that citadel the impious and wicked part of the [Jewiſh] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens ſuffered many and ſore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he ſlew ſwine upon it, and ſo offered a ſacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewiſh religious worſhip in that country He alſo compelled them to forſake the worſhip which they paid their own God, and to adore thoſe whom he took to be gods; and make them build temples, and raiſe idol altars in every city and village, and offer ſwine upon them every day. He alſo commanded them not to circumciſe their ſons, and threatened to puniſh any that ſhould be found to have tranſgreſſed his injunction. He alſo appointed overſeers, who ſhould compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntary, or out of fear of the penalty that was denounc-

* This *Citadel*, of which we have ſuch frequent mention in the following hiſtory, both in the Maccabees, and Joſephus, ſeems to have been a caſtle built on an hill, lower than mount Zion, though upon its ſkirts, and higher than mount Moriah, but between them both; which hill the enemies of the Jews now got poſſeſſion of, and built on it this citadel, and fortified it, till a good while afterwards the Jews regained it, demoliſhed it, and levelled the hill itſelf with the common ground, that their enemies might no more recover it, and might thence overlook the temple itſelf, and do them ſuch miſchief as they had long undergone from it, Antiq. B. XIII. ch. vi. § 6.

ed: But the beſt men, and thoſe of the nobleſt ſouls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater reſpect to the cuſtoms of their country, than concern as to the puniſhment which he threatened to the diſobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miſeries, and bitter torments, for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were ſtill alive, and breathed: They alſo ſtrangled thoſe women and their ſons whom they had circumciſed, as the king had appointed, hanging their ſons about their necks as they were upon the croſſes. And if there were any ſacred book or the law found, it was deſtroyed, and thoſe with whom they were found, miſerably periſhed alſo.

5. When the Samaritans ſaw the Jews under theſe ſufferings, they no longer confeſſed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on Mount Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already ſhown. And they now ſaid, that they were a colony of Medes and Perſians: And indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they ſent ambaſſadors to Antiochus, and an epiſtle; whoſe contents are theſe: "To king Antiochus the god, Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Sechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient ſuperſtition, had a cuſtom of obſerving that day which by the Jews is called the *Sabbath**. And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called *Gerizzim*, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper ſacrifices. Now, upon the juſt treatment of theſe wicked Jews, thoſe that mange their affairs, ſuppoſing that we were of kin to them, and practiſed as they do, make us liable to the ſame accuſations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beſeech thee, our benefactor and ſaviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no diſturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accuſed for, ſince we are aliens from their nation, and from their cuſtoms; but let our temple, which at preſent hath no name at all, be named, *The Temple of Jupiter Hellenius*. If this were once done, we ſhould be no longer diſturbed, but ſhould be more intent on our own occupation with quietneſs, and ſo bring in a greater revenue to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king ſent them back the following anſwer, in an epiſtle: "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have ſent me the memorial incloſed. When therefore we were adviſing with our friends about it, the meſſengers ſent by them repreſented to us, that they are no way concerned with accuſations which belonged to the Jews, but chooſe to live after the

* This allegation of the Samaritans is remarkable, that though they were not Jews, yet did they, from ancient times, obſerve the Sabbath-day, and, as they elſewhere pretend, the Sabbatic year alſo. Antiq. B. XII. ch. vii. § 6.

cuſtom of the Greeks. Accordingly we declare them free from ſuch accuſations, and order that, agreeable to their petition, their temple be named, *The Temple of Jupiter Hellenius.*" He alſo ſent the like epiſtle to Apollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-ſixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatombeon.

CHAP. VI.

How, upon Antiochus's prohibition to the Jews to make uſe of the Laws of their Country, Mattathias the ſon of Aſamoneus, alone deſpiſed the king and overcame the generals of Antiochus's army: As alſo concerning the Death of Mattathias and the ſucceſſion of Judas.

§ 1. NOW at this time there was one whoſe name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the ſon of John, the ſon of Simeon, the ſon of Aſamoneus, a prieſt of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jeruſalem. He had five ſons John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon, who was called Matthes, and, Judas, who was called Maccabeus,* and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan who was called *Apphus*. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the ſad ſtate of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them, that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live ſo inglorioufly as they then did.

2. But when thoſe that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded; and to enjoin thoſe that were there to offer ſacrifice, as the king had commanded, they deſired that Mattathias, a perſon of the greateſt character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of ſuch a numerous and ſo deſerving a family of children, would begin the ſacrifice, becauſe his fellow citizens would follow his example, and becauſe ſuch a procedure would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias ſaid, "he would not do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to pleaſe him, yet would not he nor his ſons leave the religious worſhip of their country." But as ſoon as he had ended his ſpeech, there came one of the Jews into the midſt of them, and ſacrificed, as Antio-

* That this appellation of *Maccabee* was not firſt of all given to Judas Maccabeus, nor was derived from any initial letters of the Hebrew words on his banner, *Mi Kamoka Be Elim, Jehovah? Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Jehovah?* Exod. xv. 11. as the modern Rabbins vainly pretend; ſee Authent. Rec. part I. p. 205, 206. Only we may note, by the way, that the original name of theſe Maccabees, and their poſterity, was *Aſmonians*; which was derived from Aſmoneus, the great-grand-father of Mattathias, as Joſephus here informs us.

chus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently, with his ſons, who had ſwords with them, and ſlew both the man himſelf that ſacrificed, and Appelles the king's general, who compelled them to ſacrifice, with a few of his ſoldiers. He alſo overthrew the idol altar, and cried out, "If, ſaid he, any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worſhip of God, let him follow me." And when he had ſaid this, he made haſte into the deſart with his ſons, and left all his ſubſtance in the village. Many others did the ſame alſo, and fled with their children and wives into the deſart, and dwelt into caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jeruſalem, and purſued the Jews into the deſart; and when they had overtaken them, they in the firſt place endeavoured to perſuade them to repent, and to chuſe what was moſt for their advantage, and not put them to the neceſſity of uſing them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their perſuaſions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought againſt them on the Sabbath day, and they burnt them as they were in the caves without reſiſtance, and without ſo much as ſtopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themſelves on that day, becauſe they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath even in ſuch diſtreſſes; for our law requires that we reſt upon that day. There were about a thouſand, with their wives and children, who were ſmothered and died in theſe caves; but many of thoſe that eſcaped joined themſelves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath-day; and told them, that 'unleſs they would do ſo, they would become their own enemies, by obſerving the law [ſo rigorouſly] while their adverſaries would ſtill aſſault them on this day, and they would not then defend themſelves, and that nothing could then hinder but they muſt all periſh without fighting." This ſpeech perſuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a neceſſity, we may fight on Sabbath-days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and ſlew thoſe that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power, for many of them were diſperſed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He alſo commanded, that thoſe boys which were not yet circumciſed ſhould be circumciſed now; and he drove thoſe away that were appointed to hinder ſuch their circumciſion.

3. But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a diſtemper, he called for his ſons, and ſet them round about him, and ſaid, "O my ſons, I am going the way of all the earth, and I recommend to you my reſolution, and beſeech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the deſires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to

preſerve the cuſtoms of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with thoſe that, either by their own inclination, or out of neceſſity, betray it, but to become ſuch ſons as are worthy of me; to be above all force, and neceſſity, and ſo to diſpoſe your ſouls, as to be ready, when it ſhall be neceſſary, to die for your laws, as ſenſible of this by juſt reaſoning, that if God ſee that you are ſo diſpoſed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will reſtore to you again, what you have loſt, and will return to you that freedom in which you ſhall live quietly, and enjoy your own cuſtoms. Your bodies are mortal and ſubject to fate, but they receive a ſort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you ſo in love with this immortality, that you may purſue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greateſt difficulties, you may not ſcruple, for ſuch things, to loſe your lives. I exhort you, eſpecially, to agree one with another; and in what excellence any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him ſo far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then eſteem Simon as your father, becauſe he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and to be governed by him in what counſels he gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, becauſe of his courage and ſtrength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

4 When Mattathias had thus diſcourſed to his ſons, and had prayed to God to be their aſſiſtant, and to recover to the people their former conſtitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his ſon Judas took upon him the adminiſtration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and ſixth year; and this by the ready aſſiſtance of his brethren, and of others, Judas caſt their enemies out of the country, and put thoſe of their own country to death who had tranſgreſſed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

CHAP. VII.

How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed the Generals of their Armies themſelves; and how, when, a little while afterward, Lyſias and Gorgias were beaten, he went up to Jeruſalem, and purified the Temple.

§ 1. WHEN Appollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces heard this, he took his army, and made haſte to go againſt Judas; who met him and joined battle with him, and beat him, and ſlew many of his men, and among them

Apollonius himſelf, their general whoſe ſword being that which he happened to wear, he ſeized upon, and kept for himſelf; but he wounded more than he ſlew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemies camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Celeſyria heard that many had joined themſelves to Judas, and that he had about him an army ſufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition againſt him, as thinking it became him to endeavour to puniſh thoſe that tranſgreſſed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined to it the runagate and wicked Jews, and came againſt Judas. He came as far as Bethhoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp: Upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he ſaw that his ſoldiers were backward to fight, becauſe their number was ſmall, and becauſe they wanted food, for they were faſting, he encouraged them, and ſaid to them, that "victory and conqueſt of enemies is not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exerciſe of piety towards God; and that they had the plaineſt inſtances in their forefathers, who by their righteouſneſs, and exerting themſelves on behalf of their own laws, and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thouſands, for innocence is the ſtrongeſt army." By this ſpeech he induced his men to contemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the reſt, they all ran away with ſpeed, as thinking that to be their beſt way of eſcaping. So he purſued them unto the plain, and ſlew about eight hundred of the enemy, but the reſt eſcaped to the region that lay near the ſea.

2. When king Antiochus heard of theſe things, he was very angry at what had happened; ſo he got together all his own army with many mercenaries whom he had hired from the iſlands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea, about the beginning of the ſpring. But when upon his muſtering his ſoldiers, he perceived that his treaſures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reaſon of the ſeditions there had been among the nations, he having been ſo magnanimous and ſo liberal, that what he had was not ſufficient for him, he therefore reſolved firſt to go into Perſia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whoſe name was Lyſias, who was in great repute with him, governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the lower Aſia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his ſon Antiochus with all poſſible care, until he came back; and that he ſhould conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for ſlaves, and utterly deſtroy Jeruſalem and aboliſh the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given theſe

things in charge to Lyſias, he went into Perſia; and in the hundred and forty-ſeventh year he paſſed over Euphrates, and went up to the ſuperior provinces.

3. Upon this Lyſias choſe Ptolemy the ſon of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Georgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thouſand foot ſoldiers, and ſeven thouſand horſemen, and ſent them againſt Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came alſo to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as alſo many of the runagate Jews. And beſides theſe came ſome merchants to buy thoſe that ſhould be carried captives, (having bonds with them to bind thoſe that ſhould be made priſoners,) with that ſilver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas ſaw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he perſuaded his own ſoldiers to be of good courage; and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make ſupplication to him, according to the cuſtom of their country clothed in ſackcloth; and to ſhew what was their uſual habit of ſupplication in the greateſt dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant you the victory over your enemies. So he ſet them in their ancient order of battle uſed by their forefathers, under their captains of thouſands, and other officers; and diſmiſſed ſuch as were newly married, as well as thoſe that had newly gained poſſeſſions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy thoſe bleſſings. When he had thus diſpoſed his ſoldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following ſpeech, which he made to them: "O my fellow ſoldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the preſent for courage, and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itſelf agreeable to all men, ſo it proves to be to us much more deſirable, by its affording us the liberty of worſhipping God. Since therefore you are in ſuch circumſtances at preſent, that you muſt either recover that liberty, and ſo regain an happy and bleſſed way of living, which is that according to our laws, and the cuſtoms of our country, or to ſubmit to the moſt opprobrious ſufferings; nor will any ſeed of your nation remain if you be beat in this battle. Fight therefore manfully; and ſuppoſe that you muſt die though you do not fight. But believe, that beſides ſuch glorious rewards as thoſe of the liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you ſhall then obtain everlaſting glory. Prepare yourſelves therefore, and put yourſelves into ſuch an agreeable poſture, that you may be ready to fight with the enemy as ſoon as it is day to-morrow morning."

4. And this was the ſpeech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy ſent Georgias, with five thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpoſe certain of the runagate Jews as

guides, the ſon of Mattathias perceived it, and reſolved to fall upon thoſe enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore ſupped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp he marched all night to thoſe enemies that were at Emmaus: So that when Georgias found no enemy in their camp, but ſuſpected that they were retired, and had hidden themſelves among the mountains, he reſolved to go and ſeek them wherefoever they were. But about break of day, Judas appeared to thoſe enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thouſand men, and thoſe ill armed, by reaſon of their poverty, and when he ſaw the enemy very well and ſkilfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them, "that they ought to fight, though it were with their naked bodies, for that God had ſometimes of old given ſuch men ſtrength, and that againſt ſuch as were more in number, and were armed alſo, out of regard to their great courage." So he commanded the trumpeters to ſound for the battle: And by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby aſtoniſhing and diſturbing their minds, he ſlew many of thoſe that reſiſted him, and went on purſuing the reſt as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Athdod, and Jamnia; and of theſe there fell about three thouſand. Yet did Judas exhort his ſoldiers not to be too deſirous of the ſpoils, for that ſtill they muſt have a conteſt and a battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might ſecurely plunder the camp becauſe they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And juſt as he was ſpeaking to his ſoldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into that army, which they left in their camp, and ſaw that it was overthrown, and the camp burnt, for the ſmoke that aroſe from it ſhewed them, even when they were a great way off, what had happened. When therefore thoſe that were with Gorgias underſtood that things were in this poſture and perceived that thoſe that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they alſo were affrighted and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's ſoldiers without fighting, returned and ſeized on the ſpoils. He took a great quantity of gold and ſilver and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy and ſinging hymns to God for their good ſucceſs, for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

5. Hereupon Lyſias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had ſent, and the next year he got together ſixty thouſand choſen men. He alſo took five thouſand horſemen, and fell upon Judea; and he went up to the hill country of Bethſur, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thouſand men; and when he ſaw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God, that he would aſſiſt him, and joined battle with the firſt of the enemy that

appeared, and beat them, and ſlew about five thouſand of them, and thereby became terrible to the reſt of them. Nay indeed, Lyſias obſerving the great ſpirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than loſe their liberty, and being afraid of their deſperate way of fighting, as if it were real ſtrength, he took the reſt of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he liſted foreigners into the ſervice, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

6. When therefore the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten ſo often, Judas aſſembled the people together, and told them, That "after theſe many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jeruſalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed ſacrifices." But as ſoon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jeruſalem, and found the temple deſerted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple, of their own accord, on account of its deſertion, he and thoſe that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the ſight of the temple; ſo he choſe out ſome of his ſoldiers, and gave them order to fight againſt thoſe guards that were in the citadel, until he ſhould have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new veſſels, the candleſtick, the table [of ſhew-bread,] and the alter [of incenſe,] which were made of gold, he hung up the vials at the gates, and added doors to them. He alſo took down the altar [of burnt-offering,] and built a new one of ſtones that he gathered together, and not of ſuch as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five and twentieth day of the month Caſleu, which the Macedonians call *Apelleus*, they lighted the lamps that were on the candleſtick, and offered incenſe upon the altar [of incenſe,] and laid the loaves upon the table [of ſhew-bread,] and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering.] Now it ſo fell out, that theſe things were done on the very ſame day on which their divine worſhip had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common uſe, after three years time; for ſo it was, that the temple was made deſolate by Antiochus, and ſo continued for three years. This deſolation happened to the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, and on the hundred fifty and third olympiad: But it was dedicated a-new, on the ſame day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, on the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth olympiad. And this deſolation came to paſs according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared, that the Macedonians would diſſolve that worſhip [for ſome time.]

7. Now Judas celebrated the feſtival of the reſtoration of the ſacrifices of the temple for eight days; and omitted no ſort of pleaſures thereon: But he feaſted them upon very rich and ſplendid ſacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted

them, by hymns and pſalms. Nay, they were ſo very glad at the revival of their cuſtoms, when, after a long time of intermiſſion, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worſhip, that they made it a law for their poſterity, that they ſhould keep a feſtival on account of the reſtoration of their temple worſhip, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this feſtival, and call it *Lights*. I ſuppoſe the reaſon was this, becauſe this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us; and that thence was the name given to that feſtival. Judas alſo rebuilt the walls round about the city; and reared towers of great height againſt the incurſions of enemies; and ſet guards therein. He alſo fortified the city Bethſura, that it might ſerve as a citadel againſt any diſtreſſes that might come from our enemies.

CHAP. VIII.

How Judas ſubdued the Nation round about; and how Simon beat the People of Tyre and Ptolemais: And how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to fly away, and did many other things, after Joſeph and Azarias had been beaten.

§ 1. WHEN theſe things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneaſy at the revival of their power, and roſe up together, and deſtroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying ſnares for them, and making ſecret conſpiracies againſt them. Judas made perpetual expeditions againſt theſe men, and endeavoured to reſtrain them from thoſe incurſions, and to prevent the miſchiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the poſterity of Eſau, at Acrabattene, and ſlew a great many of them, and took their ſpoils. He alſo ſhut up the ſons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews; and he ſat down about them, and beſieged them, and burnt their towers, and deſtroyed the men [that were in them.] After this he went thence in haſte againſt the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army; of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had ſubdued them, he ſeized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighbouring nations underſtood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers, in the land of Gilead, and came againſt thoſe Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the were garriſon of Dametha; and ſent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place whither they fled. And as theſe epiſtles were reading, there came other meſſengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and ſtrangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

2. Accordingly Judas, upon conſidering what was fit to be done, with relation to the neceſſity both theſe caſes required, gave order that Simon his brother ſhould take three thouſand choſen men, and go to the aſſiſtance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers. Jonathan, made haſte into the land of Gilead, with eight thouſand ſoldiers. And he left Joſeph, the ſon of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the reſt of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any perſons whomſoever until his return. Accordingly Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and purſued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and ſlew about three thouſand of them; and took the ſpoils of thoſe that were ſlain, and thoſe Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage; and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they paſſed over the river Jordan; and when they had gone three days journey, they light upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of thoſe in the land of Gilead ſtood; and how many of them were in diſtreſs, and driven into garriſons, and into the cities of Galilee: And exhorted him to make haſte to go againſt the foreigners, and to endeavour to ſave his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderneſs; and in the firſt place fell upon the inhabitants of Boſor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and deſtroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he ſtop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garriſon where the Jews happened to be then ſhut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army: And Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an aſſault upon the walls, and that ſome of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon thoſe walls, and that others brought engines [to batter them,] he bid the trumpeter to ſound his trumpet, and he encouraged his ſoldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the ſake of their brethren and kindred; he alſo parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them, of both whoſe courage and good ſucceſs in war they had formerly had ſufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and ſlew about eight thouſand of them. He then turned aſide to a city of the foreigners called *Malle*, and took it, and ſlew all the males, and burnt the city itſelf. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Caſpeom and Boſor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries; and induced ſome of the Arabians, by the promiſe of rewards, to go with him in this

expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over againſt the city Raphon: And he encouraged his ſoldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageouſly, and to hinder their paſſing over the brook; for he ſaid to them before hand, That "if they come over it, we ſhall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himſelf to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haſte againſt Timotheus his enemy; and when he had paſſed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies and ſome of them met him, whom he ſlew, and others of them he ſo terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms, and fly; and ſome of them eſcaped, but ſome of them fled to what was called the temple at Carnaim, and hoped thereby to preſerve themſelves; but Judas took the city, and ſlew them, and burnt the temple, and ſo uſed ſeveral ways of deſtroying his enemies.

5. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children, and wives, and the ſubſtance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea; But as ſoon as he was come to a certain city, whoſe name was *Ephron*, that lay upon the road (and as it was not poſſible for him to go any other way, ſo he was not willing to go back again), he then ſent to the inhabitants, and deſired that they would open their gates and permit them to go on their way through the city, for they had ſtopped up the gates with ſtones, and cut off their paſſage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this propoſal, he encouraged thoſe that were with him, and encompaſſed the city round, and beſieged it, and lying round it by day and by night, took the city, and ſlew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and ſo obtained a way through it; and the multitude of thoſe that were ſlain was ſo great that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over againſt which is ſituate the city Bethſhan, which is called by the Greeks * *Scythopolis*. And going away haſtily from thence, they came into Judea, ſinging pſalms and hymns as they went, and indulging ſuch tokens of mirth as are uſual in triumphs upon victory. They alſo offered thank-offerings, both for their good ſucceſs, and for the preſervation of their army, for † not one of the Jews was ſlain in theſe battles.

6. But as to Joſeph, the ſon of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals [of the reſt of the forces] at the

* The reaſon why Bethſhan was called *Scythopolis*, is well known from Herodotus, B. I. p. 105. and Syncellus, p. 214. that the Scythians, when they overran Aſia, in the days of Joſiah, ſeized on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Aſia, from which time it retained the name of *Scythopolis*, or the *city of the Scythians*.

† This moſt providential preſervation of all the religious Jews in this expedition, which was according to the will of God, is obſervable often among God's people the Jews; and ſomewhat very like it in the changes of the four monarchies, which were alſo providential. See Prideaux at the years 331, 333, and 334.

ſame time when in Galilee, fighting againſt the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himſelf, and his brother Jonathan, were in the land of Gilead, did theſe men alſo affect the glory of being courageous generals in war in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the geneal of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they loſt * two thouſand of their army, and fled away, and were purſued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befel them by their diſobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, "Not to fight with any one before his return." For beſides the reſt of Judas's ſagacious counſels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befel the forces commanded by Joſeph and Azarias, which he underſtood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas, and his brethren, did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans but preſſed upon them on all ſides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demoliſhed all its fortifications, and ſet all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Mariſſa. They came alſo to Aſhdod, and took it, and laid it waſte, and took away a great deal of the ſpoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. How Antiochus Eupator fought againſt Judas, and beſieged him in the Temple, and afterwards made Peace with him, and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard, that there was a very rich city in Perſia, called *Elymais*; and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all ſorts of donations dedicated to it; as alſo weapons and breaſtplates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the ſon of Philip, king of Macedonia. And being incited by theſe motives, he went in haſte to Elymais, and aſſaulted it, and beſieged it. But as thoſe that were in it were not terrified at his aſſault, nor at his ſiege, but oppoſed him very courageouſly, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and purſued after him, inſomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and loſt a great many of his army. And when he was grieving

* Here is another great inſtance of providence, that when, even at the very time that Simon and Judas, and Jonathan, were ſo miraculouſly preſerved, and bleſſed, in the juſt defence of their laws and religion, theſe other generals of the Jews who went to fight for honour, in a vain-glorious way, and without any commiſſion from God, or the family he had raiſed up to deliver them, were miſerably diſappointed and defeated. See 1 Maccab. v. 61, 62.

for this diſappointment, ſome perſons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight againſt Judea, and what ſtrength the Jews had already gotten: When this concern about theſe affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and by the anxiety he was in fell into a diſtemper, which, as it laſted a great while and as his pains increaſed upon him, ſo he at length perceived he ſhould die in a little time; ſo he called his friends to him, and told them, that his diſtemper was ſevere upon him; and confeſſed withal, that this calamity was ſent upon him for the miſeries he had brought upon the Jewiſh nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God; and when he had ſaid this, he gave up the ghoſt. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwiſe a good man, yet ſaith, That "Antiochus died becauſe he had a purpoſe to plunder the temple of Diana in Perſia;" for the * purpoſing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of puniſhment. But if Polybius could think, that Antiochus thus loſt his life on that account of his ſacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jeruſalem. But we will not contend about this matter with thoſe who may think that the cauſe aſſigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that aſſigned by us.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave him his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his ſon Antiochus; and deſired him to take care of his education, and to preſerve the kingdom for him †. This Antiochus died in the hundred forty and ninth year: But it was Lyſias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his ſon Antiochus to be king, (of whom at preſent he had the care,) and called him *Eupator*.

3. At this time it was that the garriſon in the citadel at Jeruſalem with the Jewiſh runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews: For the ſoldiers that were in that garriſon ruſhed out upon the ſudden, and deſtroyed ſuch as were going up to the temple in order to offer their ſacrifices, for this citadel adjoined to, and overlooked the temple. When theſe misfortunes had often happened to them Judas reſolved to deſtroy that

* Since St. Paul, a phariſee, confeſſes, that he had not *known concupiſcence* or *deſires* to be ſinful, had not the tenth commandment ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not covet*, Rom. vii. 7. the caſe ſeems to have been much the ſame with our Joſephus, who was of the ſame ſect, that he had not a deep ſenſe of the greatneſs of any ſins that proceeded no farther than the intention However, ſince Joſephus ſpeaks here properly of the puniſhment of death, which is not inflicted by any law either of God or man for the bare intention, his words need not be ſtrained to mean, that ſins intended, but not executed, were no ſins at all.

† No wonder that Joſephus here deſcribes Antiochus Eupator, as young, and wanting tuition, when he came to the crown, ſince Appian informs us, Syriac. p. 177. that he was then but *nine* years old.

garriſon; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorouſly beſieged thoſe that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidæ. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealouſly preſſed on to take the citadel: But there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place, that went out by night into the country, and got together ſome other wicked men like themſelves, and went to Antiochus the king, and deſired of him, That "he would not ſuffer them to be neglected, under the great hardſhips that lay upon them from thoſe of their own nation, and this becauſe their ſufferings were occaſioned on his father's account, while they left the religious worſhip of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow: That there was danger leſt the citadel and thoſe appointed to garriſon it by the king, ſhould be taken by Judas, and thoſe that were with him, unleſs he would ſend them ſuccours." When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and ſent for his captains, and his friends, and gave order, that they ſhould get an army of mercenaries together, with ſuch men alſo of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly an army was collected of about an hundred thouſand footmen, and twenty thouſand horſemen, and thirty-two elephants.

4. So the king took this army, and marched haſtily out of Antioch, with Lyſias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumea, and thence went up to the city Bethſura, a city that was ſtrong, and not to be taken without great difficulty, he ſet about this city, and beſieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethſura courageouſly oppoſed him, and ſallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was ſpent in the ſiege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raiſed the ſiege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in certain ſtraits, at a place called *Bethzachaiah*, at the diſtance of ſeventy furlongs from the enemy; but the king ſoon drew his forces from Bethſura, and brought them to thoſe ſtraits. And as ſoon as it was day he put his men in battle array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow paſſes, becauſe they could not be ſet ſideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thouſand footmen, and five hundred horſemen. The elephants alſo had high towers [upon their backs], and archers [in them]. And he alſo made the reſt of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the reſt; and gave orders for the army to ſhout aloud, and ſo he attacked the enemy. He alſo expoſed to ſight their golden and brazen ſhields, ſo that a glorious ſplendor was ſent from them; and when they ſhouted, the mountains echoed again. When Judas ſaw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and ſlew about ſix hundred of the firſt ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called

Auran, ſaw the talleſt of all the elephants armed with royal breaſt-plates, and ſuppoſed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickneſs and bravery. He alſo ſlew many of thoſe that were about the elephant, and ſcattered the reſt, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and ſmote him, and ſlew him; ſo the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight cruſhed him to death. And thus did this man come to his end, when he had firſt courageouſly deſtroyed many of his enemies.

5. But Judas, ſeeing the ſtrength of the enemy, retired to Jeruſalem, and prepared to endure a ſiege. As for Antiochus, he ſent part of his army to Bethſura, to beſiege it and with the reſt of his army he came againſt Jeruſalem; but the inhabitants of Bethſura was terrified at his ſtrength; and ſeeing that their proviſions grew ſcarce, they delivered themſelves up on the ſecurity of oaths, that they ſhould ſuffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than ſending them out naked. He alſo placed a garriſon of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jeruſalem, he lay at its ſiege a long time, while they within bravely defended it, for what engines ſoever the king ſet againſt them, they ſet other engines again to oppoſe them. But then their proviſions failed them; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were ſpent, and the land being not plowed that year, continued unſowed, becauſe it was the ſeventh year, on which by our laws we are obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And withal ſo many of the beſieged ran away for want of neceſſaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

6. And theſe happened to be the circumſtances of ſuch as were beſieged in the temple. But then, becauſe Lyſias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the King, were informed, that Philip was coming upon them out of Perſia; and was endeavouring to get the management of public affairs to himſelf, they came into theſe ſentiments, to leave the ſiege, and to make haſte to go againſt Philip; yet did they reſolve not to let this be known to the ſoldiers, or to the officers: But the King commanded Lyſias to ſpeak openly to the ſoldiers, and the officers, without ſaying a word about the buſineſs of Philip; and to intimate to them, that the ſiege would be very long; that the place was very ſtrong; that they were already in want of proviſions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the beſieged, and to become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to obſerve the laws of their fathers, while they broke out into this war only becauſe they were deprived of them, and ſo to depart home. When Lyſias had diſcourſed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleaſed with this reſolution,

7. Accordingly the king ſent to Judas, and to thoſe that were

beſieged with them, and promiſed to give them peace, and to permit them to make uſe of, and live according to the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his propoſals: And when they had gained ſecurity upon oath, for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and ſaw how ſtrong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to pluck down the walls to the ground; and when he had ſo done, he returned to Antioch: He alſo carried with him Onias the high-prieſt, who was alſo called *Menelaus*; for Lyſias adviſed the king to ſlay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cauſe him no farther diſturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the miſchief the Jews had done them, by perſuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers: So the king ſent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high-prieſt ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man: And, in order to get the government to himſelf, had compelled his nation to tranſgreſs their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was alſo called *Jacimus*, was made high-prieſt. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already poſſeſſed himſelf of the government, he made war againſt him, and ſubdued him, and took him, and ſlew him. Now, as to Onias, the ſon of the high-prieſt, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he ſaw that the king had ſlain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high prieſthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high-prieſt ſtock, but as induced by Lyſias to tranſlate that dignity from this family to another houſe, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and when he found he was in great eſteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he deſired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that at Jeruſalem: Of which therefore we ſhall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

CHAP. X.

How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius's army, made an Expedition againſt Judea, and returned without ſucceſs; and how Nicanor was ſent a little afterward againſt Judas, and periſhed, together with his Army: As alſo concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succeſſion of Judas.

§ 1. ABOUT the ſame time Demetrius, the ſon of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and ſet the diadem on his own head. He alſo gathered certain mercenary ſoldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all who delivered themſelves up to him. And when they had taken Antiochus

the king, and Lyſias, they brought them to him alive; both which were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elſewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewiſh runagates that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high-prieſt, who accuſed the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and ſaid, That "they had ſlain all his friends; and that thoſe in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that theſe men had ejected them out of their own country, and cauſed them to be ſojourners in a foreign land; and they deſired that he would ſend ſome one of his own friends, and know from him what miſchief Judas's party had done."

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and ſent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes*, a good man, and one that had been entruſted with all Meſopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high-prieſt to his care; and gave him charge to ſlay Judas, and thoſe that were with him. So Bacchides made haſte, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come into Judea, he ſent to Judas and his brethren, to diſcourſe with him about a league of friendſhip and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery: But Judas did not give credit to him, for he ſaw that he came with ſo great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, ſome of the people acquieſced in what Bacchides cauſed to be proclaimed; and ſuppoſing they ſhould undergo no conſiderable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themſelves, nor thoſe of the ſame ſentiments, ſhould come to any harm, they entruſted themſelves with them: But Bacchides troubled not himſelf about the oaths he had taken, and ſlew threeſcore of them, although by not keeping his faith with thoſe that firſt went over, he deterred all the reſt, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jeruſalem, and was at the village called *Bethzetho*, he ſent out, and caught many of the deſerters, and ſome of the people alſo, and ſlew them all; and enjoined all that lived in the country to ſubmit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with ſome part of the army, that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioch, to king Demetrius.

3. But Alcimus was deſirous to have the dominion more

* It is no way probable that Joſephus would call Bacchides, that bitter and bloody enemy of the Jews, as our preſent copies have it, *a man good, or kind and gentle*. What the author of the firſt book of Maccabees, whom Joſephus here follows, inſtead of that character, ſays of him, is, that he was *a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to his king*; which was very probably Joſephus's meaning alſo.

firmly assured to him: And understanding, that if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner, by which means he quickly had a great body of men, and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other's party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alledging that he had undergone a great many miseries by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bid him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said, "there was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation." When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor, and his army; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he * beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

* Josephus's copies must have been corrupted when they here give victory to Nicanor, contrary to the words following, which imply, that he who was beaten

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, ſome of the prieſts and elders met him, and ſaluted him; and ſhewed him the ſacrifices which they ſaid they offered to God for the king: Upon which he blaſphemed, and threatened them, that unleſs the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jeruſalem: But the prieſts fell into tears out of grief of what he had ſaid, and beſought God to deliver them from their enemies. But now for Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jeruſalem, and was at a certain village called Bethoron, he there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him. And Judas pitched his camp at Adaſa, another village, which was thirty furlongs diſtant from Bethoron, having no more than one thouſand ſoldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be diſmayed at the multitude of their enemies, not to regard how many they were againſt whom they were going to fight, but to conſider who they themſelves were, and for what great rewards they hazarded themſelves, and to attack the enemy courageouſly, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a ſevere one, he overcame the enemy and ſlew many of them; and at laſt Nicanor himſelf, as he was fighting gloriouſly, fell. Upon whoſe fall the army did not ſtay, but when they had loſt their general they were put to flight, and threw down their arms; Judas alſo purſued them and ſlew them; and gave notice by the ſound of the trumpets to the neighbouring villages, that he had conquered the enemy; which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armour haſtily, and met their enemies in the face as they were running away, and ſlew them, inſomuch that not one of them eſcaped out of this battle, and were in number nine thouſand. This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month which by the Jews is called Adar, and by the Macedonians Dyſtrus; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and eſteem it as a feſtival day. After which the Jewiſh nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former ſtate of wars and hazards.

6. But now as the high prieſt Alcimus was reſolving to pull down the wall of the ſanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophets, * he was ſmit-

fled into the *citadel*, which for certain belonged to the city of David, or to mount Zion, and was in the poſſeſſion of Nicanor's garriſon, and not of Judas's: As alſo it is contrary to the expreſs words of Joſephus's original author, 1 Maccab. vii. 32, who ſays that Nicanor loſt about 5000 men, and fled to the city of David.

* This account of the miſerable death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the wicked high prieſt, (the firſt that was not of the family of the high prieſts, and made by a vile heathen, Lyſias,) before the death of Judas, and of Judas's ſucceſſion to him as high prieſt, both here, and at the concluſion of this book, directly contradicts 1 Maccab. ix. 54.—57, which places his death after the death of Judas, and ſays not a ſyllable of the high prieſthood of Judas.

ten ſuddenly by God, and fell down. This ſtroke made him fall down ſpeechleſs upon the ground: And undergoing torments for many days, he at length died, when he had been high prieſt four years. And when he was dead, the people beſtowed the high prieſthood on Judas; who hearing of the power * of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthage, and Lybia; and that, beſides theſe, they had ſubdued Greece, and their kings, Perſeus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great alſo, he reſolved to enter into a league of friendſhip with them. He therefore ſent to Rome ſome of his friends, Eupolemus the ſon of John, and Jaſon the ſon of Eleazer, and by them deſired the Romans that they would aſſiſt them, and be their friends and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight againſt the Jews. So the ſenate received the ambaſſadors that came from Rome to Judas, and diſcourſed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of aſſiſtance. They alſo made a decree concerning it, and ſent a copy of it into Judea. It was alſo laid up in the capitol, and engraven in braſs. The decree itſelf was this: 'The decree of the ſenate concerning a league of aſſiſtance and friendſhip with the nation of the Jews. It ſhall not be lawful for any that are ſubject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to aſſiſt thoſe that do ſo, either by ſending them corn, or ſhips, or money: And if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans ſhall aſſiſt them, as far as they are able; and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews ſhall aſſiſt them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take away any thing from this league of aſſiſtance, that ſhall be done with the common conſent of the Romans. And whatſoever addition ſhall thus be made, it ſhall be of force." This decree was written by Eupolemus the ſon of John, and by Jaſon the ſon of Eleazer when Judah † was high prieſt of the nation, and Simon his brother was general of the army. And this was the firſt league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

* How well the Roman hiſtories agree to this account of the conqueſts and powerful condition of the Romans at this time, ſee the notes in Havercamp's edition; only, that the number of the ſenators of Rome was then juſt 320, is, I think, only known from 1 Maccab. viii. 15.

† This ſubſcription is wanting, 1 Maccab. viii. 17, 29. and muſt be the words of Joſephus, who, by miſtake, thought, as we have juſt now ſeen, that Judas was at this time high prieſt, and accordingly then reckoned his brother Jonathan to be then general of the army, which yet he ſeems not to have been till after the death of Judas.

CHAP. XI.

That Bacchides was again ſent out againſt Judas; and how Judas fell as he was courageouſly fighting.

§ 1. BUT when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the deſtruction of the army that was with him, he ſent Bacchides again with an army in Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee; and having beſieged and taken thoſe that were there in caves, (for many of the people fled into ſuch places,) he removed, and made all the haſte he could to Jeruſalem. And when he had learned that Judas pitched his camp at a certain village whoſe name was Bethzetho, he led his army againſt him: They were twenty thouſand footmen, and two thouſand horſemen. Now Judas had no more ſoldiers than * one thouſand. When theſe ſaw the multitude of Bacchides's men they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deſerted by his own ſoldiers, and the enemy preſſed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was diſpoſed to fight with Bacchides's army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; ſo he exhorted theſe men to undergo the danger courageouſly, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they ſaid they were not a body ſufficient to fight ſo great an army, and adviſed that they ſhould retire now, and ſave themſelves, and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he ſhould fall upon the enemy afterwards, his anſwer was this: "Let not the ſun ever ſee ſuch a thing that I ſhould ſhew my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I muſt die in this battle, I will rather ſtand to it courageouſly, and bear whatſoever comes upon me, than by now running away bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarniſh their glory." This was the ſpeech he made to thoſe that remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Bacchides drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He ſet the horſemen on both the wings, and the light ſoldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himſelf on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a ſignal of battle, and the army to make a ſhout,

* That this copy of Joſephus, as he wrote it, had here not 1000 but 3000, with 1 Macc. ix. 5 is very plain, becauſe though the main part ran away at firſt, even in Joſephus, as well as in 1 Macc. ix. 6. yet, as there, ſo here 800 are ſaid to have remained with Judas, which would be abſurd, if the whole number had been no more than 1000.

and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the ſame, he joined battle with them; and as both ſides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till ſun-ſet, Judas ſaw that Bacchides, and the ſtrongeſt part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the moſt courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon thoſe that were there, and broke their ranks and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and purſued them as far as to a mountain called Aza: But when thoſe of the left wing ſaw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompaſſed Judas, and purſued him, and came behind him and took him into the middle of their army; ſo being not able to fly, but encompaſſed round about with enemies, he ſtood ſtill, and he and thoſe that were with thim fought; and when he had ſlain a great many of thoſe that came againſt him, he at laſt was himſelf wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghoſt, and died in a way like to his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, thoſe that were with him had no one whom they could regard [as their commander,] but when they ſaw themſelves deprived of ſuch a general they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the uſual ſolemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of their father Mattathias; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and ſuffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was ſo excellent [while he was alive,] he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from ſlavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high prieſthood three years, he died.

BOOK XIII.

Containing the interval of eighty-two years.

[*From the death of* JUDAS MACCABEES *to the death of Queen* ALEXANDRA.]

CHAP. I.

How Jonathan took the Government after his brother Judas; and how he, together with his brother Simon, waged war againſt Bacchides.

§ 1. BY what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into ſlavery by the Macedonians, and what ſtruggles, and how great battles Judas the general of their army ran through, till he was ſlain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book: but after he was dead, all the wicked, and thoſe that tranſgreſſed the laws of their forefathers, ſprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and diſtreſſed them upon every ſide. A famine alſo aſſiſted their wickedneſs, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reaſon of their want of neceſſaries, and becauſe they were not able to bear up the miſeries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deſerted their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered thoſe Jews together who had apoſtatized from the accuſtomed way of living of their forefathers and choſe to live like their neighbours, and committed the care of the country to them; who alſo caught the friends of Judas, and thoſe of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who, when he had, in the firſt place, tortured and tormented them at his pleaſure, he, by that means, at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become ſo great, as they had never had experience of the like ſince their return out of Babylon, thoſe that remained of the companions of Judas, ſeeing that the nation was ready to be deſtroyed after a miſerable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and deſired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whoſe liberty in general he died alſo; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, eſpecially in thoſe deſtructive circumſtances wherein it now was. And when Jonathan ſaid, that he was ready to die for them, and was indeed eſteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewiſh army.

2. When Bacchides heard this, he was afraid that Jonathan

might be very troubleſome to the kings and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he ſought how he might ſlay him by treachery: But this invention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon; but when theſe two were apprized of it, they took all their companions, and preſently fled into that wilderneſs which was neareſt to the city; and when they came to a lake called *Aſphar*, they abode there. But when Bacchides was ſenſible that they were in a low ſtate, and were in that place, he haſted to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army: But when Jonathan knew that Bacchides was coming upon him, he ſent his brother John, who was alſo called *Gaddis*, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides ſhould be over, for they were the Jews friends. And the ſons of Ambri laid an ambuſh for John, from the city Medaba, and ſeized upon him, and upon thoſe that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them: They alſo ſlew John, and all his companions. However, they were ſufficiently puniſhed for what they now did by John's brethren, as we ſhall relate preſently.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he obſerved when their Sabbath-day came, and then aſſaulted him, as ſuppoſing that he would not fight becauſe of the law [for reſting on that day:] But he exhorted his companions [to fight;] and told them, that their lives were at ſtake, ſince they were encompaſſed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to eſcape, for that their enemies preſſed upon them before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many: And as he ſaw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he ſtretched out his right-hand to ſmite him, but the other foreſeeing and avoiding the ſtroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and ſwam over it, and by that means eſcaped beyond Jordan, while the enemy did not paſs over that river; but Bacchides returned preſently to the citadel at Jeruſalem, having loſt about two thouſand of his army. He alſo fortified many cities of Judea, whoſe walls had been demoliſhed, Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethoron, and Bethel, and Timna, and Pharatho, and Tecoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of theſe cities, and encompaſſed them with ſtrong walls, that were very large alſo, and put garriſons into them, that they might iſſue out of them, and do miſchief to the Jews. He alſo fortified the citadel at Jeruſalem more than all the reſt. Moreover, he took the ſons of the principal Jews as pledges, and ſhut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

4. About the ſame time, one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them, that the ſons of Ambri were

celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illuſtrious men among the Arabians, and that the damſel was to be conducted with pomp and ſplendor, and much riches: So Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fitteſt time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces ſufficient for receiving ſatisfaction from them for his death, they made haſte to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as ſoon as they ſaw them conducting the virgin, and her bridegroom, and ſuch a great company of their friends with them, as was to be expected at this wedding, they ſallied out of their ambuſh, and ſlew them all; and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and ſo returned, and received this ſatisfaction for their brother John from the ſons of Ambri; For as well thoſe ſons themſelves, as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, periſhed, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there: But Bacchides, when he had ſecured all Judea with his garriſons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deſerters and the wicked ſaw that Jonathan and thoſe that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reaſon of the peace, they ſent to king Demetrius, and excited him to ſend Bacchides to ſeize upon Jonathan, which they ſaid was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might ſlay them all. So the king ſent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they ſhould ſeize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; and when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to ſeize upon Jonathan, for he was ſenſible of the ſnares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded againſt them, Bacchides was angry at theſe deſerters, as having impoſed upon him, and upon the king, and ſlew fifty of their leaders: Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and thoſe that were with him, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderneſs, out of his fear of Bacchides. He alſo built towers in it, and encompaſſed it with walls, and took care that it ſhould be ſafely guarded. Upon the hearing of which, Bacchides led his own army along with him, and beſides took his Jewiſh auxiliaries, and came againſt Jonathan, and made an aſſault upon his fortifications, and beſieged him many days; but Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides uſed in the ſiege, but courageouſly oppoſed him: And while he left his brother Simon in the city, to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himſelf into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night time, and deſtroy-

ed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew alſo of this his falling upon them, becauſe he perceived that the enemies were ſlain by him, ſo he ſallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians uſed, and made a great ſlaughter of them. And when Bacchides ſaw himſelf encompaſſed with enemies, and ſome of them before, and ſome behind him, he fell into deſpair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill ſucceſs of this ſiege. However, he vented his diſpleaſure at theſe misfortunes upon thoſe deſerters who ſent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to finiſh this ſiege after a decent manner, if it were poſſible for him ſo to do, and then to return home.

6. When Jonathan underſtood theſe his intentions, he ſent embaſſadors to him, about a league of friendſhip and mutual aſſiſtance, and that they might reſtore thoſe they had taken captive on both ſides. So Bacchides thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendſhip with Jonathan, when they ſware that they would not any more make war one againſt another. Accordingly he reſtored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king of Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet ſtate of things, and went and lived in the city Michmaſh; and there governed the multitude, and puniſhed the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

CHAP. II.

How Alexander [Bala] in his War with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many Advantages, and appointed him to be High-prieſt, and perſuaded him to aſſiſt him, although Demetrius promiſed him greater Advantages on the other ſide. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. NOW in the hundred and ſixtieth year it fell out that Alexander, the * ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais, the ſoldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his inſolence and difficulty of acceſs;

* This Aexander Bala, who certainly pretended to be the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was owned for ſuch by the Jews and Romans, and many others, and yet is by ſeveral hiſtorians deemed to be a counterfeit, and of no family at all, is, however, by Joſephus believed to have been the real ſon of that Antiochus, and by him always ſpoken of accordingly. And truly ſince the original contemporary and authentic author of the firſt book of Maccabees, x. 1 calls him by his father's name Epiphanes, and ſays he was the ſon of Antiochus. I ſuppoſe the other writers, who are all much later, are not to be followed againſt ſuch evidence, though perhaps Epiphanes might have him by a woman of no family. The king of Egypt alſo,

for he ſhut himſelf up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himſelf, not far from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was withal ſlothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his ſubjects was the more kindled againſt him, as we have elſewhere already related. When therefore Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army, and led it againſt him: He alſo ſent embaſſadors to Jonathan, about a league of mutual aſſiſtance and friendſhip, for he reſolved to be before hand with Alexander, leſt the other ſhould treat with him firſt, and gain aſſiſtance from him: And this he did out of the fear he had, leſt Jonathan ſhould remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and ſhould join with him in this war againſt him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan ſhould be allowed to raiſe an army, and ſhould get armour made, and ſhould receive back thoſe hoſtages of the Jewiſh nation whom Bacchides had ſhut up in the citadel of Jeruſalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the conceſſion of Demetrius, he came to Jeruſalem, and read the king's letter, in the audience of the people, and of thoſe that kept the citadel. When theſe were read, theſe wicked men and deſerters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's permiſſion to Jonathan to raiſe an army, and to receive back the hoſtages: So he delivered every one of them to his own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jeruſalem, renewing the city to a better ſtate, and reforming the buildings as he pleaſed; for he gave orders that the walls of the city ſhould be rebuilt with ſquare ſtones that it might be more ſecure from their enemies. And when thoſe that kept the garriſons that were in Judea ſaw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting thoſe that were in the city Bethſura, and thoſe that were in the citadel of Jeruſalem, for the greater part of theſe was of the wicked Jews and deſerters, and on that account theſe did not deliver up their garriſons.

2. When Alexander knew what promiſes Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and beſides what hardſhips he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends, That "he could not at preſent find any one elſe that might afford him better aſſiſtance than Jonathan, who was both courageous againſt his enemies, and had a particular hatred againſt Demetrius, as having both ſuffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things againſt him. If therefore they were of opinion that they ſhould make him their friend againſt Demetrius, it was more for their ad-

Philometor, ſoon gave him his daughter in marriage, which he would hardly have done, had he believed him to be a counterfeit, and of ſo very mean a birth, as the later hiſtorians pretend.

vantage to invite him to aſſiſt them now than at another time." It being therefore determined by him and his friends to ſend to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epiſtle: "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, ſendeth greeting: We have long ago heard of thy courage, and thy fidelity, and for that reaſon have ſent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendſhip and mutual aſſiſtance. We therefore do ordain thee this day the high-prieſt of the Jews, and that thou beeſt called my friend. I have alſo ſent thee, as preſents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and deſire, that now thou art by us honoured, thou wilt in like manner reſpect us alſo."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he * put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feaſt of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high-prieſt had been made. So he raiſed great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius, when he heard of it, and made him blame himſelf for his flowneſs, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the goodwill of Jonathan, but had given him time ſo to do. However, he alſo himſelf wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people; the contents whereof are theſe: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, ſendeth greeting: Since you have preſerved your friendſhip for us; and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourſelves to them; I both commend you for this your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the ſame diſpoſition, for which you ſhall be repaid, and receive rewards from us; For I will free you from the greateſt part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predeceſſors, and to myſelf; and I do now ſet you free from thoſe tributes which you have ever paid; and beſides, I forgive you the tax upon ſalt, and † the value of the crowns which you uſed to offer to me: And inſtead of the third part of the fruits [of the field], and the half of the fruits of trees, I relinquiſh my part of them from this day: And as to the poll-money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, and of the three toparchies that adjoin to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquiſh to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will alſo, that the city

* Since Jonathan plainly did not put on the pontifical robes till ſeven or eight years after the death of his brother Judas, or not till the feaſt of tabernacles in the 160th of the Seleucide, 1 Maccab. x. 21. Petitus's emendation ſeems here to deſerve conſideration, who inſtead of *after four years ſince the death of his brother Judas*, would have us read *and therefore after* eight *years ſince the death of his brother Judas*. This would tolerably well agree with the date of the Maccabees, and with Joſephus's own exact chronology at the end of the twentieth book of theſe Antiquities, which the preſent text cannot be made to do.

† Take Grotius's note here. "The Jews, ſays he, were wont to preſent *crowns* "to the kings [of Syria;] afterwards that gold, which was paid inſtead of thoſe "crowns, or which was expended in making them, was called the *crown gold* and "*crown tax*." On 1 Maccab. x. 29.

of Jeruſalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tythe, and from the taxes, unto its utmoſt bounds: And I ſo far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan your high-prieſt to poſſeſs it, that he may place ſuch a garriſon in it as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himſelf, that they may keep it for us. I alſo make free all thoſe Jews who have been made captives and ſlaves in my kingdom. I alſo give order, that the beaſts of the Jews be not preſſed for our ſervice: And let their Sabbaths, and all their feſtivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any impoſition. In the ſame manner, I ſet free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I alſo give leave to ſuch of them as are willing to liſt themſelves in my army, that they may do it, and thoſe as far as thirty thouſand; which Jewiſh ſoldiers, whereſoever they go, ſhall have the ſame pay that my own army hath: And ſome of them I will place in my garriſons, and ſome as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over thoſe that are in my court. I give them leave alſo to uſe the laws of their forefathers, and to obſerve them; and I will, that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judea; and it ſhall be in the power of the high-prieſt, to take care that no one Jew ſhall have any other temple for worſhip but only that at Jeruſalem. I bequeath alſo, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expences about the ſacrifices, one hundred and fifty thouſand [drachmæ]; and what money is to ſpare, I will that it ſhall be your own. I alſo releaſe to you thoſe ten thouſand drachmæ which the kings received from the temple, becauſe they appertain to the prieſts that miniſter in that temple. "And whoſoever ſhall fly to the temple at Jeruſalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be ſet free, and let their goods be in ſafety. I alſo give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expences. I alſo allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewiſh country to have very ſtrong, let it be ſo built at my expences."

4. This was what Demetrius promiſed, and granted to the Jews, by this letter. But king Alexander raiſed a great army of mercenary ſoldiers, and of thoſe that deſerted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition againſt Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put thoſe who oppoſed them to flight, and purſued them a great way, and ſlew many of them, and ſpoiled their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the reſt, they ran away: But Demetrius fought courageouſly, and ſlew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in the purſuit of the reſt, his horſe carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon

his horſe's falling down, he could not eſcape being killed; for when his enemies ſaw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompaſſed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him; but he being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received ſo many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to, when he had reigned * eleven years, as we have elſewhere related.

CHAP. III.

The Friendſhip that was between Onias and Ptolemy Philometor; and how Onias built a Temple in Egypt like to that at Jeruſalem.

§ 1. BUT then the ſon of Onias the high-prieſt, who was of the ſame name with his father, and who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called *Philometor*, lived now at Alexandria, as we have ſaid already. When this Onias ſaw that Judea was oppreſſed by the Macedonians and their kings, out of a deſire to purchaſe to himſelf a memorial and eternal fame, he reſolved to ſend to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to aſk leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jeruſalem, and might ordain Levites and prieſts out of their own ſtock. The chief reaſon why he was deſirous ſo to do, was, that he relied upon the prophet Iſaiah, who lived above ſix hundred years before, and foretold, that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was elevated with this prediction; and wrote the following epiſtle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: "Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the aſſiſtance of God, and that in Celeſyria and Phenicia, I came at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation, where I found that the greateſt part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they bare ill-will one againſt another, which happens to the Egyptians by reaſon of the multitude of their temples, and the difference of opinions about divine worſhip. Now I found a very fit place in a caſtle that hath its name from the country Diana; this place is full of materials of ſeveral ſorts, and repleniſhed with ſacred animals: I deſire therefore that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no maſter, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jeruſalem, and of the ſame dimen-

* Since the reſt of the hiſtorians now extant gave this Demetrius 13 years, and Joſephus only 11 years, Dean Prideaux does not amiſs in aſcribing to him the mean number 12.

ſions, that may be for the benefit of thy ſelf, and thy wife and children, that thoſe Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be ſubſervient to thy advantages; for the prophet Iſaiah foretold, that * *there ſhould be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God:* And many other ſuch things did he prophecy relating to that place."

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may obſerve his piety, and that of his ſiſter and wife Cleopatra's, by that epiſtle which they wrote in anſwer to it; for they laid the blame and the tranſgreſſion of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply: "King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias, ſend greeting: We have read thy petition, wherein thou deſireſt leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Buhaſtis; on which account we cannot but wonder that it ſhould be pleaſing to God to have a temple erected in a place ſo unclean, and ſo full of ſacred animals: But ſince thou ſayeſt that Iſaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and ſo that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

* It ſeems to me, contrary to the opinion of Joſephus, and of the moderns, both Jews and Chriſtians, that this prophecy of Iſaiah, xix. 19, &c. *In that day there ſhall be an altar to the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt*, &c. directly foretold the building of this temple of Onias in Egypt, and was a ſufficient warrant to the Jews for building it, and for worſhipping the true God, the God of Iſrael, therein. See Authent. Rec. II. p. 755. That God ſeems to have ſoon better accepted of the ſacrifices and prayers here offered him than of thoſe at Jeruſalem, ſee the note on chap. x. § 7. And truly the marks of Jewiſh corruption or interpolation in this text, in order to diſcourage their people from approving of the worſhip of God here, are very ſtrong, and highly deſerve our conſideration and correction. The foregoing verſe in Iſaiah runs thus in our common copies, *In that day ſhall five cities in the land of Egypt ſpeak the language of Canaan*, [the Hebrew language; ſhall be full of Jews, whole ſacred books were in Hebrew] *and ſwear to the Lord of hoſts: One* [or the firſt] *ſhall be called the city of deſtruction*, Iſa. xxx. 18. A ſtrange name, *city of deſtruction!* upon ſo joyful an occaſion, and a name never heard of in the land of Egypt, or perhaps in any other nation. The old reading was evidently the *city of the ſun*, or *Heliopolis*; and Onkelos in effect, and Symmachus, with the Arabick verſion, entirely confeſs that to be the true reading. The Septuagint alſo, tho' they have the text diſguiſed in the common copies, and call it *Aſedek*, the *city of righteouſneſs*: yet in two or three other copies the Hebrew word itſelf for the *ſun*, *Acheres* or *Thares*, is preſerved. And ſince Onias inſiſts with the King and Queen, that Iſaiah's prophecy contained many other predictions relating to this place beſides the words by him recited, it is highly probable that theſe were eſpecially meant by him; and that one main reaſon why he applied this prediction to himſelf, and to his prefecture of Heliopolis, which Dean Prideaux well proves was in that part of Egypt, and why he choſe to build in that prefecture of Heliopolis, though otherwiſe an improper place, was this, that the ſame authority that he had for building this temple in Egypt, the very ſame he had for building it in his own prefecture of Heliopolis alſo, which he deſired to do, and which he did accordingly. Dean Prideaux has much ado to avoid ſeeing this corruption of the Hebrew, but it being in ſupport of his own opinion about this temple he durſt not ſee it; and indeed he reaſons here in the moſt weak and moſt injudicious manner poſſible. See him at the year 149.

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying, that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying, that it was to be built at Gerizzim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king, to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whomsoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men, whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient, and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successions of the high-priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto: But as for that at Gerizzim, he made no account of it, nor regarded it as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to * determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befel the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

* A very unfair disputation this! while the Jewish disputant, knowing that he could not properly prove out of the Pentateuch, that *the place which the Lord their God shall choose to place his name there*, so often referred to in the book of Deuteronomy, was Jerusalem any more than Gerizzim, that being not determined till the days of David, Antiq. B. VII. ch. xiii. § 4. vol. I. proves only, what the Samaritans did not deny, that the temple at Jerusalem was much more ancient, and much more celebrated and honoured than that at Gerizzim, which was nothing to the present purpose. The whole evidence, by the very oaths of both parties, being,

CHAP. IV.

How Alexander honoured Jonathan after an extraordinary manner, and how Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius overcame Alexander, and made a league of Friendſhip with Jonathan.

§ 1. DEMETRIUS being thus ſlain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, and deſired his daughter in marriage; and ſaid, it was but juſt that he ſhould be joned in affinity to one hat had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this propoſal of marriage gladly; and wrote him an anſwer, ſaluting him on account of his having reeeived the principality of his forefathers; and promiſing him, that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and aſſured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and deſired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt ſo far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came ſuddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his couſin Cleopatra along with him: And as he found Alexander there before him as he deſired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much ſilver and gold as became ſuch a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high-prieſt, and deſired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to theſe kings, and had made them magnificent preſents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him alſo to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him ſit with him in his throne; and commanded his captains that they ſhould go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to ſpeak againſt him, or to give him any diſturbance. And when the captains had thus done, thoſe that were prepared to accuſe Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they ſaw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and

we ſee, obliged to be confined to the law of Moſes, or to the Pentateuch alone. However, worldly policy and intereſt, and the multitude prevailing, the court gave ſentence, as uſual, on the ſtronger ſide, and poor Sabbeus and Theodoſius, the Samaritan diſputants, were martyred, and this, ſo far as appears, without any direct hearing at all, which is like the uſual practice of ſuch political courts about matters of religion. Our copies ſay, that the body of the Jews were in a great concern about *thoſe men*, in the plural, who were to diſpute for their temple at Jeruſalem, whereas it ſeems here they had but one diſputant, Andronicus by name: Perhaps more were prepared to ſpeak on the Jews ſide; but the firſt having anſwered to his name, and *overcame* the Samaritans, there was no neceſſity for any other defender of the Jeruſalem temple.

that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid leſt ſome miſchief ſhould befal them. Nay king Alexander was ſo very kind to Jonathan, that he ſet him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and ſixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the ſon of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary ſoldiers, which Laſthenes the Cretian brought him, and ſailed to Celicia. This thing caſt Alexander into great concern and diſorder when he heard it: So he made haſte immediately out of Phenicia and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a ſafe poſture there before Demetrius ſhould come. He alſo left * Apollonius Daus governor of Celeſyria, who coming to Jamnia with a great army, ſent to Jonathan the high-prieſt, and told him, That "it was not right that he alone ſhould live at reſt, and with authority, and not be ſubject to the king; that this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made him ſubject to the king. Do not thou therefore deceive thyſelf, and ſit ſtill among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee; but if thou haſt any dependence on thy ſtrength come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonſtrate which of us is the moſt courageous. However, take notice, that the moſt valiant men of every city are in my army, and that theſe are the very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle in ſuch a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with ſtones, and where there may be no place whither thoſe that are beaten may fly."

4. With this Jonathan was irritated; and chooſing himſelf out ten thouſand of his ſoldiers, he went out of Jeruſalem in haſte, with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outſide of the city, becauſe the people of Joppa had ſhut their gates againſt him, for they had a garriſon in the city put there by Apollonius; but when Jonathan was preparing to beſiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and ſo they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thouſand horſemen, and eight thouſand footmen, and came to Aſhdod, and removing thence, he made his journey ſilently and ſlowly, and going up to Joppa; he made as if he was retiring from the place, and ſo drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himſelf highly upon his horſemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan ſallied out, and purſued Apollonius to Aſhdod; but

* Of the ſeveral *Apollonii* about theſe ages, ſee Dean Prideaux at the year 148. This Apollonius Daus was, by his account, the ſon of that Apollonius who had been made governor of Celeſyria and Phenicia by Seleucus Philopator, and was himſelf a confident of his ſon Demetrius the father, and reſtored to his father's government by him, but afterwards revolted from him to Alexander, but not to Demetrius the ſon, as he ſuppoſes.

as ſoon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle; but Apollonius had laid a thouſand horſemen in ambuſh in a valley, that they might be ſeen by their enemies as behind them: Which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no conſternation, but ordering his army to ſtand in a ſquare battle array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both ſides, and ſet them to face thoſe that attacked them both before and behind: And while the fight laſted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies, but for himſelf, he charged thoſe that were with him to cover themſelves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horſemen, who did as they were commanded; ſo that the enemies horſemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies being thrown upon the ſhields, that were united and conjoined together the cloſeneſs of which eaſily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiſs in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their wearineſs, and fell upon the body of men before him; and becauſe his ſoldiers ſhewed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight: And when the horſemen ſaw that the footmen ran away, neither did they ſtay themſelves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they ſafely ran away, and in great confuſion alſo, till they were ſeparated one from another, and ſcattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan purſued them as far as Aſhdod, and ſlew a great many of them, and compelled the reſt in deſpair of eſcaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Aſhdod, but Jonathan took the city on the firſt onſet, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abſtain from the temple of Dagon itſelf, but burnt it alſo, and deſtroyed thoſe that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were conſumed in the temple, were eight thouſand. When Jonathan therefore had overcome ſo great an army, he removed from Aſhdod, and came to Aſkelon: And when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Aſkelon came out and met him, bringing him hoſpitable preſents, and honouring him; ſo he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jeruſalem with a great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies; but when Alexander heard, that Apollonius the general of his army was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, becauſe he had fought with Jonathan his friend and ally againſt his directions. Accordingly he ſent to Jonathan, and gave teſtimony to his worth; and gave him honourary re-

wards, as a * golden button, which it is the cuſtom to give the king's kinſmen; and allowed him Ekron, and its toparchy, for his own inheritance.

5. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometer, led an army, part by the ſea, and part by land, and came to Syria, to the aſſiſtance of Alexander, who was his ſon-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Aſhdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accuſed Jonathan of having laid it waſte, and deſtroyed the country adjoining with fire, and ſlain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard theſe accuſations, but ſaid nothing. Jonathan alſo went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa and obtained from him hoſpitable preſents, and thoſe glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour. And when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jeruſalem.

6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais he was very near to a moſt unexpected deſtruction; for a treacherous deſign was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend: And as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he ſhould bring Ammonius to condign puniſhment informing him what ſnares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and deſiring that he might be accordingly puniſhed for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himſelf who laid the deſign, and was very angry at him. Alexander had alſo formerly been in very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had ſuffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the puniſhment his inſolent crimes had deſerved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavoured to conceal himſelf in a feminine habit, as we have elſewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himſelf for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to aſſiſt him againſt Demetrius; ſo he diſſolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately ſent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual aſſiſtance and friendſhip with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to reſtore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleaſed with this ambaſſage, and accepted of his aſſiſtance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had ſtill one more hard taſk to do, and that was to perſuade the people of Anti-

* Dr. Hudſon here obſerves, that the Phenicians and Romans uſed to reward ſuch as had deſerved well of them, by preſenting to them a *golden button*. See ch. v. § 4.

och to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about, for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius's account, as we have shewed already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch; who thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt: But being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans, so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius; and assured them, That "he would not be mindful of what they did to his father in case he should be now obliged by them; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him; and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; but that for his own part, he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt." By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy, and his son-in-law Demetrius, brought their army against him, (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,) and beat Alexander, and put him to flight; and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened in the time of battle, that Ptolemy's horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which accident, his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill, that for four days time he was not able either to understand or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding, on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing and saw a most agreeabe sight, which were the death and the head of Alexander; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years; as we have elsewhere related.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled * *Nicator*, had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's sol-

* This name *Demetrius Nicator*, or *Demetrius the conqueror*, is so written on his coins still extant, as Hudson and Spanheim informs us; the latter of whom gives us here the entire inscription, *king Demetrius the God Philadelphus Nicator*.

diers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual aſſiſtance that was between them, nor that he was his ſon-in-law and kinſman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him, ſo the ſoldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria, but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high prieſt, levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jeruſalem, and beſieged it; it was held by a garriſon of Macedonians, and by ſome of thoſe wicked men who had deſerted the cuſtoms of their forefathers. Theſe men at firſt deſpiſed the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its ſtrength; but ſome of thoſe wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him, that the citadel was beſieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, againſt Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: Upon which Jonathan did not intermit the ſiege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the prieſts, and carried with him gold, and ſilver, and garments, and a great number of preſents of friendſhip, and came to Demetrius, and preſented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high prieſthood, as he had poſſeſſed it by the grants of the kings his predeceſſors. And when the Jewiſh deſerters accuſed him, Demetrius was ſo far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the propoſal, and gave him a letter confirming all thoſe grants; whoſe contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, ſendeth greeting: We have ſent you a copy of that epiſtle which we have written to Laſthenes our kinſman, that you may know its contents. King Demetrius to Laſthenes our father, ſendeth greeting: I have determined to return thanks, and to ſhew favour to the nation of the Jews, which hath obſerved the rules of juſtice in our concerns. Accordingly I remit it to them the three prefectures, Apherima, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances: As alſo what the kings my predeceſſors received from thoſe that offered ſacrifices in Jeruſalem; and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what elſe belongs to us; with the ſalt pits, and the crowns that uſed to be preſented to us! Nor ſhall they be compelled to pay any of theſe taxes from this time to all futurity. Take care therefore that a copy of this epiſtle be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be ſet up in an eminent place of their holy temple." And theſe were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius ſaw that there was peace every where, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he diſbanded the greateſt part

of his army, and diminiſhed their pay, and even retained in pay no others than ſuch foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other iſlands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the ſoldiers; on whom he beſtowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him uſed to pay them in time of peace, as they did before, that they might have their good-will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occcaſion ſhould require it.

CHAP. V.

How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, delivered the Kingdom to Antiochus, the Son of Alexander, and gained Jonathan for his aſſiſtant: And concerning the Actions and Embaſſies of Jonathan.

§ 1. NOW there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apanemian by birth, whoſe name was *Diodotus*, and was alſo called *Trypho*, took notice of the ill-will the ſoldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bare Demetrius, and perſuaded him to give him Antiochus, becauſe he would make him king; and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the firſt oppoſed him in this attempt, becauſe he could not believe him, but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he over-perſuaded him, to comply with Trypho's intentions and entreaties. And this was the ſtate Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high prieſt, being deſirous to get clear of thoſe that were in the citadel of Jeruſalem, and of the Jewiſh deſerters, and wicked men, as well as of thoſe in all the garriſons in the country, ſent preſents and ambaſſadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his ſoldiers out of the ſtrong holds of Judea. Demetrius made anſwer, That after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that alſo; and he deſired he would ſend him ſome aſſiſtance; and informed him that his army had deſerted him. So Jonathan choſe out three thouſand of his ſoldiers, and ſent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what miſchief he had himſelf done them, and becauſe they were his enemies alſo on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abuſed them, ſo they watched ſome opportunity which they might lay hold on, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the aſſiſtance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and conſidered at the ſame time that he would raiſe a numerous army, unleſs they prevent-

ed him, and ſeized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompaſſed his palace in the way of a ſiege, and ſeizing upon all the ways of getting out, they ſought to ſubdue their king. And when he ſaw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary ſoldiers which he had with him, and thoſe Jews who were ſent by Jonathan, and aſſaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thouſands, and was beaten. But when the Jews ſaw that the Antiochians were ſuperior, they went up to the top of the palace, and ſhot at them from thence; and becauſe they were ſo remote from them by their height, that they ſuffered nothing on their ſide, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from ſuch an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houſes, and immediately ſet them on fire, whereupon the flame ſpread itſelf over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reaſon of the cloſeneſs of the houſes, and becauſe they were generally built of wood: So the Antiochians, when they were not able to help themſelves, nor to ſtop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one houſe to the top of another, and purſued them after that manner, it thence happened that the purſuit was ſo very ſurpriſing. But when the king ſaw that the Antiochians were very buſy in ſaving their children and their wives, and ſo did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow paſſages, and fought them, and ſlew a great many of them, till at laſt they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themſelves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their inſolent behaviour, and put an end to the ſedition: And when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich ſpoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cauſe of his victory, he ſent them away to Jeruſalem, to Jonathan, with an ample teſtimony of the aſſiſtance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and broke the promiſes he had made: And he threatened that he would make war upon him, unleſs he would pay all that tribute which the Jewiſh nation owed to the firſt kings [of Syria]. And this he had done, if Typho had not hindered him and diverted his preparations againſt Jonathan, to a concern for his own preſervation: For he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head: And as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, becauſe they had no pay, came to his aſſiſtance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city Antioch.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia: But the child Antiochus ſent ambaſſadors, and an epiſtle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirm-

ed to him the high prieſthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he ſent him veſſels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to uſe them. He alſo preſented him with a golden button, and ſtyled him one of his principal friends; and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, from the ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was ſo pleaſed with theſe grants made him by Antiochus, that he ſent ambaſſadors to him, and to Trypho, and profeſſed himſelf to be their friend and confederate, and ſaid he would join with him in a war againſt Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindneſſes he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindneſs from him, when he ſtood in great need of them, he for ſuch good turns, had requited him with farther injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raiſe himſelf a numerous army out of Syria and Phenicia, and to make war againſt Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haſte to the ſeveral cities, which received him ſplendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Aſkelon, the inhabitants of Aſkelon came and brought him preſents, and met him in a ſplendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Celeſyria, to forſake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and in aſſiſting him, to endeavour to puniſh Demetrius for what offences he had been guilty of againſt themſelves; and told them there were many reaſons for that their procedure, if they had a mind ſo to do. And when he had perſuaded thoſe cities to promiſe their aſſiſtance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them alſo to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they had ſhut their gates againſt him, and altho' they had deſerted Demetrius, they had not reſolved to join themſelves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to beſiege them, and to harraſs their country; for as he ſet a part of his army round about Gaza itſelf, ſo with the reſt he over-ran their land, and ſpoiled it, and burnt what was in it. When the inhabitants of Gaza ſaw themſelves in this ſtate of affliction, and that no aſſiſtance came to them from Demetrius, that what diſtreſſed them was at hand, but what ſhould profit them was ſtill at a great diſtance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendſhip with the other, ſo they ſent to Jonathan, and profeſſed they would be his friends, and afford him aſſiſtance; for ſuch is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not underſtand what is for their advantage, but when they find themſelves under ſuch afflictions, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they

chooſe to do, but not till after they have ſuffered ſuch damages. However, he made a league of friendſhip with them, and took from them hoſtages for their performance of it, and ſent theſe hoſtages to Jeruſalem, while he went himſelf over all the country, as far as Damaſcus.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city Cadeſh with a numerous army (the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee), for they ſuppoſed they ſhould hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preſerve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raiſed as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then ſat down before Bethſura, and beſieged it, that being the ſtrongeſt place in all Judea; and a garriſon of Demetrius's kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raiſing banks, and bringing his engines of war againſt Bethſura, and was very earneſt about the ſiege of it, the garriſon was afraid leſt the place ſhould be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the ſword, ſo they ſent to Simon, and deſired the ſecurity of his oath, that they ſhould come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garriſon of his own.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Gennelar, for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Aſor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day before hand, that Jonathan was coming againſt them, they laid an ambuſh in the mountain, who were to aſſault him on the ſudden, while they themſelves met him with an army in the plain: Which army when Jonathan ſaw ready to engage him, he alſo got ready his own ſoldiers for the battle as well as he was able; but thoſe that were laid in ambuſh by Demetrius's general being behind them, the Jews were afraid leſt they ſhould be caught in the midſt between two bodies, and periſh, ſo they ran away in haſte, and indeed all the reſt left Jonathan, but a few there were, in number about fifty, who ſtaid with him, and with them Mattathias, the ſon of Abſalom, and Judas, the ſon of Chapſeus, who were commanders of the whole army. Theſe marched boldly, and like men deſperate, againſt the enemy, and ſo puſhed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands, they put them to flight. And when thoſe ſoldiers of Jonathan, that had retired, ſaw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and purſued them with great violence; and this did they as far as Cadeſh, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and ſlain

two thouſand of the enemy, returned to Jeruſalem. So when he ſaw that all his affairs proſpered, according to his mind, by the providence of God, he ſent ambaſſadors to the Romans, being deſirous of renewing that friendſhip which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the ſame ambaſſadors, that, as they came back they ſhould go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendſhip and kindred. So when the ambaſſadors came to Rome, they went into their ſenate, and ſaid what they were commanded by Jonathan the high-prieſt to ſay, how he had ſent them to confirm their friendſhip. The ſenate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendſhip with the Jews; and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Aſia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might ſafely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epiſtle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: "Jonathan the high-prieſt of the Jewiſh nation, and the ſenate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the *ephori* and ſenate, and people of the Lacedemonians, ſend greeting: If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is according to our wiſhes. We are well alſo. When in former times an epiſtle was brought to Onias, who was then our high-prieſt, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here ſubjoined, we both joyfully received the epiſtle, and were well pleaſed with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need ſuch a demonſtration, becauſe * we were ſatisfied about it from the ſacred writings, yet did not we think fit firſt to begin the claim of this relation to you, leſt we ſhould ſeem too early in taking to ourſelves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time ſince this relation of ours to you hath been renewed; and when we upon holy and feſtival days, offer ſacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preſervation and victory. As to ourſelves, although we have had many wars that have compaſſed us around, by reaſon of the covetouſneſs of our neighbours, yet did not we determine to be troubleſome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but ſince we have now overcome our enemies, and have occaſion to ſend Numenius, the ſon of Antiochus, and Antipater, the ſon of Jaſon, who are both honourable men belonging to our ſenate, to the Romans, we gave them this epiſtle to you alſo, that they might renew that friendſhip which is between us. You will there-

* This clauſe is otherwiſe rendered in the firſt book of Maccabees, xii. 9. *For that we have the holy books of ſcripture in our hands to comfort us.* The Hebrew original being loſt, we cannot certainly judge which was the trueſt verſion, only the coherence favours Joſephus: But if this were the Jews meaning, that they were ſatisfied out of their Bible that the Jews and Lacedemonians were of kin, that part of their Bible is now loſt, for we find no ſuch aſſertion in our preſent copies.

fore do well yourſelves to write to us, and ſend us an account of what you ſtand in need of from us, ſince we are in all things diſpoſed to act according to your deſires." So the Lacedemonians received the ambaſſadors kindly, and made a decree for friendſhip and mutual aſſiſtance, and ſent it to them.

9. At this time there were three ſects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the ſect of the *Phariſees*, another the ſect of the *Sadducees*, and the other the ſect of the *Eſſens*. Now for the * Phariſees, they ſay that ſome actions, but not all, are the work of fate and ſome of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not cauſed by fate. But the ſect of the Eſſens affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befals men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and ſay there is no ſuch thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its diſpoſal, but they ſuppoſe that all our actions are in our own power, ſo that we are ourſelves the cauſes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of theſe opinions in the ſecond book of the Jewiſh War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came againſt Jonathan; but as ſoon as he was informed of their coming, he went ſuddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he reſolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea, ſo he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs diſtance from the enemy, and ſent out ſpies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his ſpies had given him full information, and had ſeized upon ſome of them by night, who told him the enemy would ſoon attack him, he, thus appriſed before-hand, provided for his ſecurity, and placed

* Thoſe that ſuppoſe Joſephus to contradict himſelf in his three ſeveral accounts of the notions of the Phariſees, this here, and that earlier one, which is the largeſt, Of the War, B II. ch. viii § 14. vol. II. and that later, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. i. § 3. vol. II. as if he ſometimes ſaid they introduced an abſolute fatality, and denied all freedom of human actions, is almoſt wholly groundleſs; he ever, as the very learned Caſaubon here truly obſerves, aſſerting, that the Phariſees were between the Eſſens and Sadducees, and did ſo far aſcribe all to fate or divine providence as was conſiſtent with the freedom of human actions. However, their perplexed way of talking about fate or providence as over-ruling all things, made it commonly tho't they were willing to excuſe their ſins by aſcribing them to fate, as in the Apoſtolical Conſtitution, B. VI ch vi. Perhaps under the ſame general name ſome difference of opinions in this point might be propagated, as is very common in all parties, eſpecially in points of metaphyſical ſubtility: However, our Joſephus, who in his heart was a great admirer of the piety of the Eſſens, was yet in practice a Phariſee, as he himſelf informs us, in his own Life, § 2. vol. II. And his account of this doctrine of the Phariſees, is for certain agreeable to his own opinion, who ever both fully allowed the freedom of human actions, and yet ſtrongly believed the powerful interpoſition of divine providence. See concerning this matter a remarkable clauſe, Antiq. B. XVI. ch. xi. § 7. vol. I.

watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time, if they should be obliged so to do, lest their enemies designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed, that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find, that the enemy had discovered those their intentions; nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they had failed in the snares they had laid for them, for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly: And having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. But when Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Elutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off that he had taken. About the same time it was, that Simon his brother, went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds: And when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa, were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible, than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates,] and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he

would come to them they would deliver themſelves up to him, and aſſiſt him in fighting againſt * Arſaces, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with theſe hopes, and came haſtily to them, as having reſolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war againſt Trypho, and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country, received him with great alacrity. So he raiſed forces, with which he fought againſt Arſaces, and loſt all his army, and was himſelf taken alive, as we have elſewhere related.

CHAP. VI.

How Jonathan was ſlain by treachery; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon their General and High-prieſt: What courageous actions alſo he performed, eſpecially againſt Trypho.

§ 1. NOW when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by ſubtilty to kill him, and then take poſſeſſion of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obſtacle to this his deſign, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cauſe he reſolved firſt to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to ſet about his deſign relating to Antiochus; but he judging it beſt to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethſhan, which by the Greeks is called *Scythopolis*, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thouſand choſen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by preſents, and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by theſe means was deſirous to give aſſurance of his good-will, and to take away all ſuſpicions out of his mind, that ſo he might make him careleſs and inconſiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He alſo adviſed him to diſmiſs his army, becauſe there was no occaſion for bringing it with him when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he deſired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortreſſes that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him, that he came with thoſe very deſigns.

2. Yet did not Jonathan ſuſpect any thing at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice

* This king, who was of the famous race of Arſaces, is both here, and 1. Mac. xiv. 2. called by the family name *Arſaces*, but Appian ſays, his proper name was *Phraates*. He is here alſo called by Joſephus the *king of the Parthians*, as the Greeks uſed to call them, but by the elder author of the firſt Maccabees, the *king of the Perſians and Medes*, according to the language of the eaſtern nations. See Antiquit. Rec. part. II. p. 1108.

out of kindneſs, and with a ſincere deſign. Accordingly he diſmiſſed his army, and retained no more than three thouſand of them with him, and left two thouſand in Galilee, and he himſelf, with one thouſand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais: But when the people of Ptolemais had ſhut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and ſlew all that were with him. He alſo ſent ſoldiers againſt thoſe two thouſand that were left in Galilee, in order to deſtroy them: But thoſe men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution, and before thoſe that were ſent by Trypho came, they covered themſelves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when thoſe that were ſent againſt them ſaw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no diſturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jeruſalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the ſoldiers who were with him were deſtroyed, they deplored his ſad fate, and there was earneſt inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and juſt fear fell upon them, and made them ſad, leſt now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them ſhould bear them ill will; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, they ſhould now riſe up againſt them, and by making war with them ſhould force them into the utmoſt dangers. And indeed what they ſuſpected really befell them; for when thoſe nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews, as now deſtitute of a governor; and Trypho himſelf got an army together, and had an intention to go up to Judea, and make war againſt its inhabitants. But when Simon ſaw that the people of Jeruſalem were terrified at the circumſtances they were in, he deſired to make a ſpeech to them, and thereby to render them more reſolute in oppoſing Trypho when he ſhould come againſt them. He then called the people together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them: "O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myſelf and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives and that willingly for the recovery of your liberty; ſince I have therefore ſuch plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourſelves to die for our laws, and our divine worſhip, there ſhall no terror be ſo great as to baniſh this reſolution from our ſouls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whitherſoever I ſhall lead you, as not deſtitute of ſuch a captain as is willing to ſuffer, and to do the greateſt things for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I ſhould be ſparing of my own life, nor ſo far worſe than they as to avoid and refuſe what they thought the moſt honourable of all things, I mean, to undergo death for your laws, and for that worſhip of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give ſuch proper demon-

ſtrations as will ſhew that I am their own brother; and I am ſo bold as to expect that I ſhall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend againſt you, and, with God's aſſiſtance, to preſerve your temple from deſtruction by them, for I ſee that theſe nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they thence are encouraged to make war againſt you."

4. By this ſpeech of Simon's, he inſpired the multitude with courage, and as they had been before diſpirited through fear, they were now raiſed to a good hope of better things, inſomuch, that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon ſhould be their leader; and that inſtead of Judas and Jonathan his brethren, he ſhould have the government over them; and they promiſed that they would readily obey him in whatſoever he ſhould command him. So he got together immediately all his own ſoldiers that were fit for war, and made haſte in rebuilding the walls of the city, and ſtrengthening them by very high and ſtrong towers; and ſent a friend of his, one Jonathan the ſon of Abſalom to Joppa, and gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid leſt they ſhould deliver up the city to Trypho, but he himſelf ſtayed to ſecure Jeruſalem.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon alſo met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon an hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he ſent to him, and would have impoſed upon him by deceit and treachery, and deſired, if he would have his brother Jonathan releaſed, that he would ſend him an hundred talents of ſilver and two of Jonathan's ſons as hoſtages, that when he ſhall be releaſed, he may not make Judea revolt from the king, for that at preſent he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho, and although he knew that if he gave him the money he ſhould loſe it, and that Trypho would not ſet his brother free, and withal, ſhould deliver the ſons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet becauſe he was afraid that he ſhould have a calumny raiſed againſt him among the multitude as the cauſe of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money, nor ſent Jonathan's ſons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made, and added this, that the offers were enſnaring and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to ſend the money and Jonathan's ſons than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refuſing to ſave his brother. Accordingly Simon ſent the ſons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promiſe, nor ſet Jonathan free, but

took his army, and went about all the country, and reſolved to go afterward to Jeruſalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over againſt him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over againſt his.

6. But when thoſe that were in the citadel had ſent to Trypho, and beſought him to make haſte and come to them, and to ſend them proviſions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jeruſalem that very night, but ſo great a quantity of ſnow fell in the night that it covered the roads, and made them ſo deep, that there was no paſſing, eſpecially for the cavalry. This hindered him from coming to Jeruſalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Celetyria, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he ſlew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himſelf to Antioch. However, Simon ſent ſome to the city Baſca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon alſo erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and poliſhed ſtone, and raiſed it a great height, and ſo as to be ſeen a long way off, and made cloiſters about it, and ſet up pillars which were of one ſtone a-piece; a work it was wonderful to ſee. Moreover, he built ſeven pyramids alſo for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very ſurpriſing, both for their largeneſs and beauty, and which have been preſerved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who beſtowed ſo much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of theſe monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high prieſt * four years and had been alſo the governor of his nation. And theſe were the circumſtances that concerned his death.

6. But Simon, who was made high prieſt by the multitude, on the very firſt year of his high prieſthood ſet his people free from their ſlavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after an † hundred and

* There is ſome error in the copies here, when no more than four years are aſcribed to the high prieſthood of Jonathan. We know by Joſephus's laſt jewiſh chronology, Antiq. B. XX. ch. x. vol. II. that there was an interval of ſeven years between the death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the laſt high prieſt, and the real high prieſthood of Jonathan, to whom yet thoſe ſeven years ſeem here to be aſcribed, as a part of them were to Judas before, Antiq. B. XII. ch. x. § 6. vol. II. Now ſince, beſides theſe ſeven years *interregnum* in the pontificate, we are told, Antiq. B. XX. ch x. that Jonathan's real high prieſthood laſted ſeven years more; theſe two ſeven years will make up fourteen years, which I ſuppoſe was Joſephus's own number in this place, inſtead of the four in our preſent copies.

† Theſe 170 years of the Aſſyrians mean no more, as Joſephus explains himſelf here, than from the æra of Seleucus, which, as it is known to have began on the 312th year before the Chriſtian æra, from its ſpring in the firſt book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the ſecond book of Maccabees, ſo did it not begin at Babylon till the next ſpring, on the 311th year. See Prid. at the year 312. And it

ſeventy years of the kingdom of the Aſſyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was ſo great, that in their contracts one with another, and in their public records, they wrote, "In the firſt year of Simon, the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews;" for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them, for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamina. He alſo took the citadel of Jeruſalem by ſiege, and caſt it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a miſchief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their beſt way, and moſt for their advantage, to level the very mountain itſelf upon which the citadel happened to ſtand, that ſo the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an aſſembly, he perſuaded them to have it ſo demoliſhed, and this by putting them in mind what miſeries they had ſuffered by its garriſon, and the Jewiſh deſerters, and what miſeries they might hereafter ſuffer in caſe any foreigner ſhould obtain the Kingdom, and put a garriſon into that citadel. This ſpeech induced the multitude to a compliance, becauſe he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: So they all ſet themſelves to the work, and levelled the mountain, and in that work ſpent both day and night without any intermiſſion, which coſt them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the reſt of the city. After which the temple was the higheſt of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it ſtood, were demoliſhed. And theſe actions were thus performed under Simon.

CHAP. VII.

How Simon confederated himſelf with Antiochus Pius, and made War againſt Trypho; and a little afterward againſt Cendebeus, the General of Antiochus's Army; As alſo how Simon was Murdered by his ſon-in-law Ptolemy, and that by treachery.

§ 1. * NOW a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor, deſtroy-

is truly obſerved by Dr. Hudſon on this place, that the Syrians and Aſſyrians are ſometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Juſtin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, who ſays, That "the Aſſyrians were afterward called *Syrians*." B I. ch. xi. See Of the War, B. V. ch. ix. § 4. vol. III. where the Philiſtines themſelves, at the very ſouth limit of Syria, in its utmoſt extent, are called *Aſſyrians* by Joſephus, as Spanheim obſerves.

* It muſt here be diligently noted, that Joſephus's copy of the firſt book of Maccabees, which he had ſo carefully followed, and faithfully abridged as far as the 50th

ed Antiochus, * the ſon of Alexander, who was alſo called † *the God*, and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the ſurgeons. He then ſent his friends, and thoſe that were moſt intimate with him to the ſoldiers; and promiſed that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of miſchief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the ſoldiers in expectation of the wealth they ſhould get by beſtowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonſtrated his diſpoſition to be wicked; for while he was a private perſon, he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and ſo drew them on artfully to whatſoever he pleaſed, but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aſide any farther diſſimulation, and was true *Trypho*, which behaviour made his enemies ſuperior to him, for the ſoldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was then ſhut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, who was

verſe of the twelfth chapter, ſeems there to have ended. What few things there are afterward common to both, might probably be learned by him from ſome other more imperfect records. However we muſt exactly obſerve here, what the remaining part of that book of the Maccabees informs us of, and what Joſephus would never have omitted, had his copy contained ſo much, that this Simon the Great, the Maccabee, made a league with Antiochus Soter, the ſon of Demetrius Soter and brother of the other Demetrius, who was now a captive in Parthia, that upon his coming to the crown, about the 140th year before the Chriſtian æra, he granted great privileges to the Jewiſh nation, and to Simon their high prieſt and ethnarch, which privileges Simon ſeems to have taken of his own accord about three years before. In particular, he gave him leave to coin money for his country with his own ſtamp; and as concerning Jeruſalem, and the ſanctuary, that they ſhould be *free*, or as the vulgar Latin hath it, *holy and free*, 1 Maccab. xv. 6, 7 which I take to be the truer reading, as being the very words of his father's conceſſion offered to Jonathan ſeveral years before, ch. x. 31. and Antiq. B. XIII. ch. ii. § 3. vol. II. Now what makes this date, and theſe grants, greatly remarkable is the ſtate of the remaining genuine ſhekels of the Jews with Samaritan characters, which ſeem to have been (moſt of them at leaſt) coined in the four firſt years of this Simon the Aſamonean, and having upon them theſe words on one ſide, *Jeruſalem the holy*, and on the reverſe, *In the year of freedom*, 1. or 2. or 3 or 4. which ſhekels therefore are original monuments of theſe times, and undeniable marks of the truth of the hiſtory in theſe chapters, though it be in great meaſure omitted by Joſephus. See Eſſay on the Old Teſt. p 157. 158. The reaſon why I rather ſuppoſe that his copy of the Maccabees wanted theſe chapters, than that his own copies are here imperfect, is this, that all their contents are not here omitted, though much the greateſt part be.

* How Trypho killed this Antiochus, the epitome of Livy informs us, chap. 55. viz. that he corruped his phyſicians or ſurgeons, who falſely pretending to the people that he was periſhing with the ſtone, as they cut him for it, killed him, which exactly agrees with Joſephus.

† That this Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander Balas, was called *the God*, is evident from his coins, which Spanheim aſſures us bear this inſcription, *king Antiochus the God, Epiphanes the Victorious*.

called *Soter*, was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra ſent to him, and invited him to marry her and to take the kingdom. The reaſons why ſhe made this invitation were theſe: That her friends perſuaded her to it, and that ſhe was afraid for herſelf, in caſe ſome of the people of Seleucia ſhould deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increaſed every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the upper Syria into Phenicia, and purſued him thither, and beſieged him in Dora, which was a fortreſs hard to be taken, whether he had fled. He alſo ſent ambaſſadors to Simon the Jewiſh high-prieſt, about a league of friendſhip and mutual aſſiſtance: Who readily accepted of the invitation, and ſent to Antiochus great ſums of money, and proviſions, for thoſe that beſieged Dora, and thereby ſupplied them very plentifully, ſo that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his moſt intimate friends; but ſtill Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the ſiege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind aſſiſtance that Simon had afforded him in his neceſſity; by reaſon of his covetous and wicked diſpoſition, and committed an army of ſoldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and ſent him at once to ravage Judea, and to ſeize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjuſt treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a reſolution briſker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He alſo ſent his ſons before among the moſt hardy of his ſoldiers, and he himſelf marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambuſhes in the narrow vallies between the mountains; nor did he fail of ſucceſs in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the reſt of his life in peace, and aid alſo himſelf make a league with the Romans.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feaſt came to his end. It was cauſed by the treachery of his ſon-in-law Ptolemy; who caught alſo his wife, and put two of his ſons, and kept them in bonds. He alſo ſent ſome to kill John the third ſon, whoſe name was *Hyrcanus;* but the young man perceiving them coming, he * avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haſte into the city [Jeruſalem,] as relying on the good will of the multitude, becauſe of the

* Here Joſephus begins to follow, and to abridge the next ſacred Hebrew book, ſtyled in the end of the firſt book of Maccabeus, *The Chronicle of John* [*Hyrcanus's*] *high prieſthood*, but in ſome of the Greek copies, the *fourth book of Maccabees*. A Greek verſion of this chronicle was extant not very long ago in the days of Santes Pagninus, and Sixtus Senenſis, at Lyons, though it ſeems to have been there burnt and to be utterly loſt. See Sixtus Senenſis's account of it, of its many Hebraiſms, and its great agreement with Joſephus's abridgement, in the Authent. Rec. part. I. p. 206, 207, 208.

benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bear to Ptolemy, so that when Ptolemy was endeavouring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted of Hyrcanus.

CHAP. VIII.

Hyrcanus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy out of the Country. Antiochus makes War against Hyrcanus, and afterward makes a League with him.

§ 1. SO Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called *Dagon*: But Hyrcanus having taken the priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren, and by that only, for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And as he thought that so far he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favour did he shew to those that were dearest to him by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might but be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews use to rest came on, for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being * for this

* Hence we learn, that in the days of this excellent high priest John Hyrcanus the observation of the *Sabbatic year*, as Josephus supposed, required a rest from *war*, as did that of the *weekly Sabbath* from *work*: I mean this, unless in the case of necessity, when the jews were attacked by their enemies, in which case indeed, and in which alone, they then allowed defensive fighting to be lawful even on the Sabbath-day, as we see in several places of Josephus, Antiq. B. XII. ch. vi. § 2. B. XIII. ch. i. § 3. vol. II. Of the War, B. I ch. vii. § 3. vol. III. But then it must be noted, that this rest from war no way appears in the first book of Mac-

cauſe releaſed from the war, he ſlew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother: And when he had ſo done, he fled to Zeno, who was called *Cotylas*, who was then the tyrant of the city Philadelphia.

2. But Antiochus being very uneaſy at the miſeries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth year of his reign, and the firſt year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the * hundred and ſixty ſecond olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he ſhut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompaſſed round with ſeven encampments, but did juſt nothing at the firſt, becauſe of the ſtrength of the walls, and becauſe of the valour of the beſieged, although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large ſhower of rain, which fell at the † ſetting of the Pleiades. However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened, the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the King raiſed a hundred towers of three ſtories high and placed bodies of ſoldiers upon them, and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall; but the beſieged contrived to make frequent ſallies out, and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of miſchief, and if they perceived they then retired into the city with eaſe. But becauſe Hyrcanus diſcerned the inconvenience of ſo great a number of men in the city, while the proviſions were the ſooner ſpent by them, and yet, as natural to ſuppoſe, thoſe great numbers did nothing, he ſeparated the uſeleſs part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let thoſe that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the walls, and conſuming away by famine, died miſerably; but when the feaſt of tabernacles was at hand, thoſe that were within commiſerated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus ſent to Antiochus, and deſired there might be a truce for ſeven days, be-

esbees, ch. xvi but the direct contrary; though indeed the jews, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, did not venture upon fighting on the Sabbath days, even in the defence of their own lives, till the Aſamoneans or Maccabees decreed ſo to do, 1 Mac ii. 32—41 Antiq. B. *XII* ch. vii. § 2.

* Joſephus's copies, both Greek and Latin, have here a groſs miſtake, when they ſay, that this firſt year of John Hyrcanus, which we have juſt now ſeen to have been a *Sabbatic year*, was in the 162d olympaid, whereas it was for certain the ſecond year of the 161ſt. See the like before, B. *XII*. ch. vii. § 6.

† This heliacal ſetting of the Pleiades, or ſeven ſtars, was, in the days of Hyrcanus and Joſephus, early in the ſpring, about February, the time of the latter rain in judea: and this, ſo far as I remember, is the only aſtronomical character of time, beſides one eclipſe of the moon in the reign of Herod, that we meet with in all Joſephus, the Jews being little accuſtomed to aſtronomical obſervations, any farther than for the uſes of their kallendar, and utterly forbidden thoſe aſtrological uſes which the heathens commonly made of them.

cauſe of the feſtival, he gave way to this piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly: And beſides that, he ſent in a magnificent ſacrifice, bulls with their * horns gilded, with all ſorts of ſweet ſpices, and with cups of gold and ſilver. So thoſe that were at the gates received the ſacrifices from thoſe that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus the mean while feaſting his army; which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, he offered ſwine upon the altar, and ſprinkled the temple with the broth of their fleſh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reaſon our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him: But for this Antiochus, all men called him *Antiochus the Pious*, for the greatzeal he had about religion.

3. Accordingly Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he underſtood how religious he was towards the Deity, he ſent an ambaſſage to him, and deſired that he would reſtore the ſettlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counſel of thoſe that † would have him utterly deſtroy the nation by reaſon of their way of living, which was to others unſociable, and did not regard what they ſaid. But being perſuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he anſwered the ambaſſadors, That if the beſieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garriſon of his, on theſe terms, he would make war againſt them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garriſon, becauſe they could not aſſociate with other people, nor converſe with them; yet were they willing, inſtead of the admiſſion of the garriſon, to give him hoſtages, and five hundred talents of ſilver; of which they paid down three hundred, and ſent the hoſtages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of thoſe hoſtages was Hyrcanus's brother: But ſtill he broke down the fortifications that encompaſſed the city: And upon theſe conditions Antiochus broke up the ſiege, and departed.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the ſepulchre of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thouſand talents. He was alſo the firſt of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was alſo a league of friendſhip and mutual aſſiſtance made between them: Upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furniſhed him with whatſoever his army wanted in great plenty,

* Dr Hudſon tells us here, that this cuſtom of gilding the horns of thoſe oxen that were to be ſacrificed, is a known thing both in the poets and orators.

† This account in Joſephus, that the preſent Antiochus, was perſuaded, though in vain, not to make peace with the jews, but to cut them off utterly, is fully confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, in Photius's extracts out of his 34th Book.

and with great generoſity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition againſt the Parthians; of which Nicolaus of Damaſcus is a witneſs for us; who in his hiſtory writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a tropay at the river Lycus, upon his conqueſt of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he ſtayed there two days. It was at the deſire of Hyrcanus the Jew, becauſe it was ſuch a feſtival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not ſpeak falſely in ſaying ſo; for that feſtival, which we call Pentecoſt, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath: Nor is it * lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a feſtival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arſaces, the king of Parthia, he loſt a great part of his army, and was himſelf ſlain; and his brother Demetrius ſucceeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permiſſion of Arſaces, who freed him from his captivity, at the ſame time that Antiochus attacked Parthia, as we have formerly related elſewhere.

CHAP. IX.

How, after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an Expedition againſt Syria, and made a league with the Romans. Concerning the Death of King Demetrius and Alexander.

§ 1. BUT when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he preſently made an expedition againſt the cities of Syria, hoping to find them deſtitute of fighting men, and of ſuch as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the ſixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the great diſtreſs of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighbouring places; and beſides theſe, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans who dwelt at the temple which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the ſake of Manaſſeh, who was ſon-in-law to Jaddua the high-prieſt, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deſerted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took alſo Dora and Mariſſa, cities of Idumea, and ſubdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to ſtay in that country, if they would circumciſe their genitals, and make uſe of the laws of the Jews; and they were ſo deſirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they † ſubmitted to the uſe of circumciſion, and of the reſt of the

* The Jews were not to march, or journey on the Sabbath, or on ſuch a great feſtival as was equivalent to the Sabbath, any farther than a *Sabbath-day's journey*, or 2000 cubits, ſee the note on Antiq. B. XX. ch. viii. ſec. 6. Vol. III.

† This account of the Idumeans admitting circumciſion, and the entire Jewiſh law, from this time, or from the days of Hyrcanus, is confirmed by their entire hiſtory afterward. See Antiq. B. xiv ch. viii. ſec. 1. B. xv. ch. vii. ſec. 9. vol. II.

Jewiſh way of living, at which time therefore this befel them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. But Hyrcanus the high-prieſt was deſirous to renew that league of friendſhip they had with the Romans: Accordingly he ſent an ambaſſage to them: And when the ſenate had received their epiſtle, they made a league of friendſhip with them, after the manner following: "Fanius, the ſon of Marcus the pretor, gathered the ſenate together on the eighth day before the ides of February, in the ſenate-houſe when Lucius Manlius, the ſon of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the ſon of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were preſent. The occaſion was, that the ambaſſadors ſent by the * people of the Jews, Simon the ſon of Doſitheus, and Apollonius, the ſon of Alexander, and Diodorus, the ſon of Jaſon, who were good and virtuous men, had ſomewhat to propoſe about that league of friendſhip and mutual aſſiſtance which ſubſiſted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who deſired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gazara, and the ſprings [of Jordan,] and the ſeveral other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the ſenate, might be reſtored to them; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to paſs through their country, and the countries of thoſe that are ſubject to them: And that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the ſenate, might be made void: And that they would ſend ambaſſadors, who ſhould take care that reſtitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they ſhould make an eſtimate of the country that had been laid waſte in the

Of the war, B. II. ch. iii. § 1. B. IV. ch. iv. § 5. vol. III. This, in the opinion of Joſephus, made them proſelytes of juſtice, or entire Jews, as here and elſewhere, Antiq. B. XIV. ch. viii. § 1. However, Antigonus, the enemy of Herod, though Herod were derived from ſuch a proſelyte of juſtice for ſeveral generations, will allow him to be no more than an *half Jew*, B. XV. ch. xv. § 2. But ſtill take out of Dean Prideaux, at the year 129 the words of Ammonius a grammarian, which fully confirm this account of the Idumeans in Joſephus: "The Jews, ſays he, are ſuch by nature, and from the beginning, whilſt the Idumeans were not Jews from the beginning but Phenicians and Syrians; but being afterward ſubdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumciſed, and to unite into one nation, and be ſubject to the ſame laws, they were called *Jews*" Dio alſo ſays, as the Dean there quotes him, from book *XXXVI.* p. 37. "That country is called *Judea*, and the people *Jews*; and this name is given alſo to as many others as embrace their religion, tho' of other nations." But then upon what foundation ſo good a governor as Hyrcanus took upon him to *compel* theſe Idumeans either to become Jews, or to leave the country, deſerves great conſideration. I ſuppoſe it was becauſe they had long ago been driven out of the land of Edom, and had ſeized on and poſſeſſed the tribe of Simeon, and all the ſouthern parts of the tribe of Judea, which was the peculiar inheritance of the worſhippers of the true God without idolatry, as the reader may learn from Reland, Paleſtine, part I. p. 154, 305. and from Prideaux, at the years 140 and 165.

* In this decree of the Roman Senate, it ſeems, that theſe ambaſſadors were ſent from the *people of the Jews*, as well as from their *prince or high-prieſt John Hyrcanus*.

war; and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings, and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed, as to these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But that as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter, when their own affairs would give them leave and that they would endeavour for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them: And that their pretor Fanius, should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expences home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill-will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that he would send them one of the family of Seleucus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife to Ptolemais, but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught, and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

CHAP. X.

How upon the quarrel between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, about the Kingdom, Hyrcanus took Samaria, and utterly demolished it; and how Hyrcanus joined himself to the sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees.

§ 1. WHEN Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard that his brother by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum, so he staid in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of

Gryphus, for it had so happened, that Seleucus and the first Cleopatra was married to two, as we have before related. But Antiochus Cyzicenus, who was also called Sidetes, continued three years at war with his brother. Now Ptolemy Lathurus had sent many troops to assist Antiochus, but he sent them back from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the same regard, either as their commander, or as their friend, but his affairs were in a very great confusion, insomuch that he was forced to run away from Alexandria to Cyprus, chiefly on account of that brother, for the war which they had with one another gave Lathurus the opportunity of enjoying himself in quietly, insomuch that he got a considerable quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicenus had slain his adversary, he then openly shewed what he meant. And when he knew that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition for the struggles they had one with another, he declared them both.

So he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city, and had at present name Sebaste, and is the position of the Hebrews, as we have before observed at a proper time: But he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains; for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the many injuries they had formerly done to the people of Marissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and also on account of their assistance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which were fourscore furlongs long, he left his two Antiochus and Antiochus to observe the siege, which brought the Samaritans to the great distress by famine that they were forced to eat what was not fit to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Antiochus and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brothers, he got away: he then returned to Samaria, and thus began again with the siege, till they were forced to send for the former auxiliaries from time to help them, who presently came about the vintage-time from Ptolemy Lathyros, who were sent thither without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. Whereupon Lathyros Antiochus did not only not hinder the country of Antiochus after the manner of robbers, but he durst not meet him in the field to fight with him, as he was marching from Scythopolis to Ptolemais, but only threatened privately, that he would kill his brother's children if he would not raise the siege of Samaria: but he came before his threatenings, and took many of his soldiers therein, he went away [illegible]

* [illegible] Josephus's account, as to the [illegible] Jewish [illegible] "The power of the Jews was [illegible] the time of the Maccabees, that they [illegible] set up a power out of their own, and [illegible]

Tripoli, and committed the profecution of the war againſt the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too raſhly, and was put to flight, and deſtroyed immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was ſuch a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raiſe the ſiege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken that city, which was not done till after a year's ſiege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demoliſhed it entirely, and brought rivulets to it to drown it, for he dug ſuch hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been ſuch a city there. Now a very ſurpriſing thing is related of this high prieſt Hyrcanus, how God came to diſcourſe with him: for they ſay, that on the very ſame day on which his ſons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high prieſt offering incenſe, and heard a voice, that "his ſons had juſt then overcome Antiochus." And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true: And in this poſture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only thoſe Jews who were at Jeruſalem and in Judea were in proſperity, but alſo thoſe of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus, for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her ſon Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Chelcias, and Ananias, the ſons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jeruſalem, as we have elſewhere related. Cleopatra intruſted theſe men with her army; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia atteſts, when he ſaith thus, "Now the greater part, both thoſe that came to Cyprus with us, and thoſe that were ſent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only thoſe that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued faithful, becauſe their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen." Theſe are the words of Strabo.

5. However, this proſperous ſtate of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus; but they that were the worſt diſpoſed to him were the * Phariſees, who are one of the ſects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. Theſe have ſo great a

* The original of the Sadducees, as a conſiderable party among the Jews, being contained in this, and the two following ſections, take Dean Prideaux's note upon this their firſt public appearance, which I ſuppoſe to be true: "Hyrcanus, ſays he, went over to the party of the Sadducees, that is, by embracing their doctrine againſt the traditions of the elders, added to the written law, and made of equal authority with it, but not their doctrine againſt the reſurrection and a future ſtate, for this cannot be ſuppoſed of ſo good and righteous a man as John Hyrcanus is ſaid to be. It is moſt probable, that at this time the Sadducees had gon no farther in the doctrines of that ſect than to deny all their unwritten traditions, which the Phariſees were ſo fond of; for Joſephus mentions no other difference at this

power over the multitude, that when they say any thing against the king, or against the high priest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humour, he began to say to them, that "they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he desired, that if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him." On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous; with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was * Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high priesthood? the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus's, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus, that "Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest if he would but ask them the question, What punishment they thought this man deserved? for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved." So the Pharisees made answer, that "he deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death." And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that

[illegible] between them. Neither doth he say that Hyrcanus went over to the Sadducees [illegible] otherwise than in the [illegible] of all the traditions [illegible] the [illegible], which our Saviour condemned as well as they." [illegible] Year [illegible]

* This [illegible] has been preserved [illegible] David Gan[illegible] that Hyrcanus [illegible] [illegible] S

hatred which he and his ſons met with from the multitude; but of theſe matters we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Phariſees have delivered to the people a great many obſervances by ſucceſſion from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moſes; and for that reaſon it is that the Sadducees reject them, and ſay, that we are to eſteem thoſe obſervances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to obſerve what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning theſe things it is that great diſputes and differences have ariſen among them, while the Sadducees are able to perſuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obſequious to them, but the Phariſees have the multitude of their ſide. But about theſe two ſects, and that of the Eſſens, I have treated accurately in the ſecond book of Jewiſh affairs.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this ſedition, he after that lived happily, and adminiſtered the government in the beſt manner for thirty-one years, and then * died; leaving behind him five ſons. He was eſteemed by God worthy of the three greateſt privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high-prieſthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities; and to foretel this in particular, that as to his two eldeſt ſons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whoſe unhappy cataſtrophe will be worth our deſcription, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father's happineſs.

* Here ends the high prieſthood, and the life of this excellent perſon John Hyrcanus; and together with him the holy *theocracy*, or *divine government* of the Jewiſh nation, and its concomitant oracle by *Urim*. Now follows the profane and tyrannical Jewiſh *monarchy*, firſt of the Aſſamoneans or Maccabees, and then of Herod the Great, the Idumean, till the coming of the Meſſiah. See the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. viii. § 9. Hear Strabo's teſtimony on this occaſion, B. XVI. page 761, 762. "Thoſe, ſays he, that ſucceeded Moſes continued for ſome time in earneſt, both in righteous actions, and in piety; but after a while, there were others that took upon them the high prieſthood; at firſt ſuperſtitious and afterward tyrannical perſons. Such a prophet was Moſes, and thoſe that ſucceeded him, beginning in a way not to be blamed, but changing for the worſe. And when it openly appeared that the government was become tyrannical. Alexander was the firſt that ſet up himſelf for a king inſtead of a prieſt; and his ſons were Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus." All in agreement with Joſephus, excepting this, that Strabo omits the firſt king Ariſtobulus, who reigned but a ſingle year, ſeems hardly to have come to his knowledge. Nor indeed does Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Alexander, pretend that the name of *king* was taken before his father Alexander took it himſelf, Antiq. B. *XIV*. ch. iii. § 2. See alſo chap. xii. ſec. 1. which favour Strabo alſo. And indeed, if we may judge from the very different characters of the Egyptian Jews under high prieſts, and of the Paleſtine Jews under kings, in the two next centuries we may well ſuppoſe, that the divine *Shechinah* was removed into Egypt, and that the worſhippers at the temple of Onias were better men than thoſe at the temple of Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XI.

How Ariſtobulus, when he had taken the Government, firſt of all put a diadem on his head, and was moſt barbarouſly cruel to his mother and his brethren; and how, after he had ſlain Antigonus, he himſelf died.

§ 1. NOW when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldeſt ſon Ariſtobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for ſo he reſolved to do, firſt of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred eighty and one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babyloniſh ſlavery, and were returned to their own country again. This Ariſtobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal, but the others he held in bonds. He alſo caſt his mother into priſon, becauſe ſhe diſputed the government with him, for Hyrcanus had left her to be miſtreſs of all. He alſo proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to kill her in priſon with hunger; nay, he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the reſt whom he ſlew, yet he ſeemed to have and affection for him, and made him above the reſt a partner with him in the kingdom. Thoſe calumnies he at firſt did not give credit to, partly becauſe he loved him, and ſo did not give heed to what was ſaid againſt him, and partly becauſe he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relaters. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feaſt was then at hand when they make tabernacles to [the honour of] God, it happened that Ariſtobulus was fallen ſick, and that Antigonus went up moſt ſplendidly adorned, and with his ſoldiers about him in their armour, to the temple, to celebrate the feaſt, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, when ſome wicked perſons, who had a great mind to raiſe a difference between the brethren, made uſe of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and ſpitefully aggravated the pompous ſhew of his at the feaſt, and pretended that all theſe circumſtances were not like thoſe of a private perſon; that theſe actions were indications of an affection of royal authority; and that his coming with a ſtrong body of men muſt be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reaſoning was this, that it was a ſilly thing in him; while it was in his power to reign himſelf, to look upon it as a great favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

2. Ariſtobulus yielded to theſe imputations, but took care both that his brother ſhould not ſuſpect him, and that he himſelf might not run the hazard of his own ſafety; ſo he ordered

his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground, and dark (he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia), and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came in to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed; But the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary; now his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour, in order to shew it to him; but when he was come at a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essens, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who abode with him as his * scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come, "That it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold he should die at the place called Strato's Tower, that very day, while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." As he was saying this, and that in a melancholy mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was called also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the prophet into a great disorder.

3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother; on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood: At which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by divine providence, as I cannot but sup-

* Hence we learn, that the Essens pretended to have rules whereby men might foretel things to come, and that this Judas the Essen, taught those rules to his scholars: but whether their pretences were of an astrological or magical nature, which yet in such religious Jews, who were utterly forbidden such arts, is no way probable, or to any Bath Gol, spoken of by the latter Rabbins, or otherwise, I cannot tell. See of the War, B. II. ch viii. § 12. vol. III.

poſe, ſlip down, and ſhed part of his blood at the very place where there were ſpots of Antigonus's blood there ſlain, ſtill remaining; and when there was a cry made by the ſpectators, as if the ſervant had on purpoſe ſhed the blood on that place, Ariſtobulus heard it, and enquired what the matter was? And as they did not anſwer him he was the more earneſt to know what it was, it being natural to men to ſuſpect that what is thus concealed is very bad: So upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to ſpeak, they at length told him the truth; whereupon he ſhed many tears, in that diſorder of mind which aroſe from his conſciouſneſs of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and ſaid, "I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of, but a ſudden puniſhment is coming upon me for the ſhedding the blood of my relations. And now, O thou moſt impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a ſoul that ought to die, in order to appeaſe the ghoſts of my brother and my mother? Why doſt thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop to thoſe whom I have ſo wickedly murdered?" In ſaying which laſt words, he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war againſt Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumciſed, and to live according to the Jewiſh laws. He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modeſty, as Strabo bears witneſs, in the name of Timagenes; who ſays thus: "This man was a perſon of candour, and very ſerviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumciſion of their genitals."

CHAP. XII.

How Alexander, when he had taken the Government, made an Expedition againſt Ptolemais, and then raiſed the Siege out of fear of Ptolemy Lathyrus; and how Ptolemy made War againſt him, becauſe he had ſent to Cleopatra to perſuade her to make War againſt Ptolemy, and yet pretended to be in Friendſhip with him, when he beat the Jews in the Battle.

§ 1. WHEN Ariſtobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who, by the Greeks, was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of priſon (for Ariſtobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have ſaid already,) and made Alexander Janneus king, who was the ſuperior in age, and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as ſoon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's ſight till he

died. The occaſion of which hatred is thus reported: When Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldeſt of his ſons, Antigonus and Ariſtobulus, God appeared to him in his ſleep, of whom he enquired, which of his ſons ſhould be his ſucceſſor? Upon God's repreſenting to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and ſuffered him to be brought up in * Galilee. However, God did not decieve Hyrcanus, for after the death of Ariſtobulus, he certainly took the kingdom; and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he ſlew, and the other, who choſe to live a private and quiet life, he had in eſteem.

2. When Alexander Janneus had ſettled the government in the manner that he judged beſt, he made an expedition againſt Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he ſhut them up in the city, and ſat round about it, and beſieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, beſides Strato's Tower, and Dora, which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now while Antiochus Philometor and Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one againſt another, and deſtroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no aſſiſtance from them; but when they were diſtreſſed with this ſiege, Zoilus, who poſſeſſed Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of ſoldiers, and on occaſion of the conteſt between the kings, affected tyranny himſelf, came and brought ſome ſmall aſſiſtance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the kings ſuch a friendſhip for them, as that they ſhould hope for any advantage from them. Both thoſe kings were in the caſe of wreſtlers, who finding themſelves deficient in ſtrength, and yet being aſhamed to yield, put off the fight by lazineſs, and by lying ſtill as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother: So the people of Ptolemais ſent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus, and deſired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in ſuch danger out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambaſſadors gave him hopes, that if he would paſs over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the ſide of thoſe of Ptolemais; as alſo they ſaid, that Zoilus, and beſides theſe the Sidonians, and many others, would aſſiſt them, ſo he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as ſoon as poſſible.

3. But in this interval Demenetus, one that was of abilities to perſuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of

* The reaſon why Hyrcanus ſuffered not this ſon of his whom he did not love to come into Judea, but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee, is ſuggeſted by Dr. Hudſon, that Galilee was not eſteemed ſo happy and well cultivated a country as Judea, Matt. xxvi. 73. Joh. vii. 52 Act. ii. 7. although another obvious reaſon occurs alſo, that he was farther out of his ſight in Galilee than he would have been in Judea.

the populace, made thoſe of Ptolemais change their opinions; and ſaid to them, That "it was better to run the hazard of being ſubject to the Jews, than to admit of evident ſlavery by delivering themſelves up to a maſter; and beſides that, to have not only a war at preſent, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt, for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raiſed by Ptolemy for himſelf out of the neighbourhood, but would come againſt them with a great army of her own, and this becauſe ſhe was labouring to eject her ſon out of Cyprus alſo; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can ſtill retire to Cyprus, but that they will be left in the greateſt danger poſſible." Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he ſtill go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there ſet his army on ſhore. This army of his in the whole, horſe and foot together, were about thirty thouſand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp: But when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambaſſadors, nor would hear what they had to ſay, he was under a very great concern.

4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and deſired his aſſiſtance, becauſe their country was laid waſte by the Jews, and by Alexander, Alexander raiſed the ſiege for fear of Ptolemy: And when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he uſed a ſtratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come againſt Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to deſire a league of friendſhip and mutual aſſiſtance with him; and promiſing to give him four hundred talents of ſilver, he deſired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy with pleaſure, made ſuch a league of friendſhip with Alexander, and ſubdued Zoilus: But when he afterward heard that he had privily ſent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and beſieged Ptolemais, becauſe it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals with ſome part of his forces, to go on with the ſiege, he went himſelf immediately with the reſt to lay Judea waſte; and when Alexander underſtood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he alſo got together about fifty thouſand ſoldiers out of his own country; nay, * as ſome writers have ſaid, eighty thouſand. He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Aſochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the

* From theſe, and other occaſional expreſſions, dropped by Joſephus, we may learn, that where the ſacred books of the Jews were deficient, he had ſeveral other hiſtories then extant, but now moſt of them loſt, which he faithfully followed in his own hiſtory: Nor indeed have we any other records of thoſe times, relating to Judea, that can be compared to theſe accounts of Joſephus, though when we do meet with authentic fragments of ſuch original records, they almoſt always confirm his hiſtory.

Sabbath-day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

5. He then tried to take Sepphoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander, which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called *Saphoth*, [not far from the river Jordan,] and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had however eight thousand in the first rank, which he stiled *Hecatontomachi*, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Ptolemy's soldiers, also had shields covered with brass: But Ptolemy's soldiers, in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Philostephanus, the camp-master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps: Nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it, for he thought, that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle: In the beginning of which, the acts on both sides with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies, but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter; for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagenes says they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

6. After this victory, Ptolemy over-ran all the country; and when night came on he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and to cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and eat men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a fight. And both Strabo and Nicholaus [of Damascus] affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

CHAP. XIII.

How Alexander, upon the league of mutual defence which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Celesyria, and utterly overthrew the City of Gaza; and how he slew many ten thousands of Jews that rebelled against him; Also concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, and Antiochus Pius, and others.

§ 1. WHEN Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste, without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians, but she immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea, and an army of foot on land, and made Chelcias and Ananias the Jews, generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grand-children, and her testament, to the people of * Cos. Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phenicia; and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste unto Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army, and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Celesyria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, he abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city: And when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy, he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs who said, that "she would do an unjust action if she deprived a man that was her ally of that authority which

* This city or island *Cos*, is not that remote island in the Ægean sea, famous for the birth of the great Hyppocrates, but a city or island of the same name adjoining to Egypt, mentioned both by Stephanus and Ptolemy, as Dr. Hudson informs us. Of which Cos, and the treasures there laid up by Cleopatra and the Jews, see Antq. B. XIV. ch. vii. § 2.

belonged to him, and this a man who is related to us; for, ſaid he, I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what injuſtice thou doſt to him will make all us that are Jews to be thy enemies." This deſire of Ananias's Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual aſſiſtance with him, at Scythopolis, a city of Celeſyria.

3. So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he preſently made an expedition againſt Celeſyria. He alſo took Gadara after a ſiege of ten months. He took alſo Amathus, a very ſtrong fortreſs belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus the ſon of Zeno, had his chief treaſure, and what he eſteemed moſt precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and ſlew ten thouſand of them, and ſeized upon Alexander's baggage: Yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander, but he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon, (the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias,) and took even that by force; but when Alexander ſaw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, becauſe they had invited Ptolemy to aſſiſt them, and beſieged their city, and ravaged their country. But as Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thouſand foreign, and ten thouſand of his own forces, while the night laſted, thoſe of Gaza prevailed, becauſe the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that miſtake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again and fell upon thoſe of Gaza, and ſlew of them about a thouſand: But as thoſe of Gaza ſtoutly reſiſted them, and would not yield for either their want of any thing, nor for the great multitude that were ſlain, for they would rather ſuffer any hardſhip whatever, than come under the power of their enemies, Aretas, king of the Arabians, a perſon then very illuſtrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promiſed them that he would come to their aſſiſtance; but it happened, that before he came, Apollodotus was ſlain, for his brother Lyſimachus envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, ſlew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at firſt, lay quiet, but afterward ſet his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to puniſh them; ſo ſome went one way, and ſome went another, and ſlew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts; but oppoſed thoſe that came to ſlay them, and ſlew as many of the Jews; and ſome of them, when they ſaw themſelves deſerted, burnt their own houſes, that the enemy might get none of their ſpoils; nay ſome of them with their own hands, ſlew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding ſlavery for

them; but the ſenators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple (for this attack happened to be made as they were ſitting) whom Alexander ſlew; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jeruſalem, having ſpent a year in that ſiege.

4. About this very time * Antiochus, who was called Grypus died. His death was cauſed by Heraeleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned † twenty-nine. His ſon Seleucus ſucceded him in the kingdom; and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him and took him priſoner, and ſlew him. But after a while ‡ Antiochus, the ſon of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head; and made war with Seleucus, and beat him and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopſueſtia again, and levied money upon them; but the poeple of Mopſueſtia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and ſlew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus the ſon of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, || Antiochus the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him and was overcome, and deſtroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over ſome part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathyrus ſent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damaſcus. Both theſe brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppoſe, but preſently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice ¶ queen of the Gileadites when ſhe was making war againſt the Parthians, and he was fighting courageouſly he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elſewhere related.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were ſeditious againſt him; for at a feſtival which was then celebrated, when he ſtood upon the altar, and was going to ſacrifice, the nation

* This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus is confirmed by Appian, Syriac. p. 132. here cited by Spanheim.

† Porphyry ſays, that this Antiochus Grypus reigned but 26 years, as Dr. Hudſon obſerves.

‡ The copies of Joſephus, both Greek, and Latin, have here ſo groſsly falſe a reading, *Antiochus* and *Antoninus*, or *Antonius Pius*, for *Antiochus Pius*, that the editors are forced to correct the text from the other hiſtorians, who all agree that this King's name was nothing more than *Antiochus Pius*.

|| Theſe two brothers, Antiochus and Philippus, are called *twins* by Porphyry; the fourth brother was King of Damaſcus: Both which are the obſervations of Spanheim.

¶ This Laodicea was a city of Gilead beyond Jordan. However, Porphyry ſays, that this Antiochus Pius did not die in this battle, but running away was drowned in the river Orontes. Appian ſays, that he was deprived of the kingdom of Syria by Tigranes; but Porphyry makes this Laodice Queen of the Calamans: All which is noted by Spanheim. In ſuch confuſion of the later hiſtorians, we have no reaſon to prefer any of them before Joſephus, who had original ones before him.

roſe upon him, and pelted him with citrons, [which they then had in their hands, becauſe, the law of the Jews required, that at the feaſt of tabernacles every one ſhould have branches of the palm-tree and citron-tree; which thing we have elſewhere related. They alſo reviled him, as * derived from a captive, and ſo unworthy of his dignity, and of ſacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and ſlew of them about ſix thouſand. He alſo built a partition wall of wood round the altar, and the temple, as far as that partition within which it was only lawful for the prieſts to enter, and by this means he obſtructed the multitude from coming at him. He alſo maintained foreigners of Piſidiæ and Cilicia, for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and ſo made no uſe of them. He alſo overcame the Arabians, ſuch as the Moabites, and Gilead and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demoliſhed Amathus, while † Theodorus durſt not fight with him; but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambuſh in the places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the camels at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly eſcaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jeruſalem, where, beſides his other ill ſucceſs, the nation inſulted him, and he fought againſt them for ſix years, and ſlew no fewer than fifty thouſand of them. And when he deſired that they would deſiſt from their ill will to him, they hated him ſo much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had aſked them what he ought to do? they all cried out, that "he ought to kill himſelf." They alſo ſent to Demetrius Eucerus, and deſired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

CHAP. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucerus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for fear of the Jews: As alſo how Alexander ſlew many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. SO Demetrius came with an army, and took thoſe that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his ſix thouſand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thouſand Jews, who were of his party, went againſt Demetrius who had three thouſand horſemen, and forty thouſand footmen. Now there were great

* This reproach upon Alexander, that he was ſprung from a captive, ſeems only the repetition of the old Phariſaical calumny upon his father, chap. x. § 5.

† This Theodorus was the ſon of Zeno, and was in poſſeſſion of Amathus, as we learn from § 3. foregoing.

endeavours used on both sides, Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together, [from Demetrius] to him, out of pity at the change of his fortune: Upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had: And when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them; for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been never so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a * Thracian among the Jews; whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquility.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten

* This name *Thracida*, which the Jews gave Alexander, must, by the coherence, denote *as barbarous as a Thracian*, or somewhat like it; but what it properly signifies is not known.

thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſemen. However, Strato the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zizon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces, and beſieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven him with their arrows, they compelled thoſe that were with him by thirſt to deliver up themſelves. So they took a great many ſpoils out of that country, and Demetrius himſelf, whom they ſent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia, but as to thoſe whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they reſtored them to the Antiochians without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by ſickneſs. So Philip, preſently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

CHAP. XV.

How Antiochus, who was called Dionyſus, and after him Aretas, made Expeditions into Judea; as alſo how Alexander took many cities, and then returned to Jeruſalem, and after a ſickneſs of three years died; and what counſel he gave to Alexandra.

§ 1. AFTER this, Antiochus, who was called * Dionyſus, and was Philip's brother, aſpired to the dominion, and came to Damaſcus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned: But as he was making war againſt the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damaſcus, where Mileſius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damaſcens themſelves, delivered up the city to him; yet becauſe Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had beſtowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindneſs of Mileſius, and becauſe he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became ſuſpected by him, and ſo he was obliged to leave Damaſcus again; for Mileſius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome, and ſhut him up in it, and kept Damaſcus for Antiochus [Eucerus,] who hearing how Philip's affairs ſtood, came back out of Arabia. He alſo came immediately, and made an expedition againſt Judea, with eight thouſand armed footmen, and eight hundred horſemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipa-

* Spanheim takes notice, that this Antiochus Dionyſus [the brother of Philip, and of Demetrius Eucerus, and of two others] was the fifth ſon of Antiochus Grypus; and that he is ſtyled on the coins, *Antiochus Epiphanes Dionyſus.*

tris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus, but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him * Aretas reigned over Celesyria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida, yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia: And when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called the valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: And after he had spent three years in this war he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phenicians: At the sea side, Strato's tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, mount Carmel, and mount Taber, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonites, Seleucia, and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its † inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to

* This Aretas was the first king of the Arabians who took Damascus, and reigned there: Which name became afterwards common to such Arabian kings, both at Petra and at Damascus, as we learn from Josephus in many places, and from St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 32. See the note on Antiq. B. XVI. ch. ix. § 4.

† We may here, and elsewhere, take notice, that whatever countries or cities the Asamoneans conquered from any of the neighbouring nations, or whatever countries or cities they gained from them, that had not belonged to them before, they, after

the Jews. The Jews alſo poſſeſſed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been deſtroyed.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a diſtemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite ſpent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortreſs beyond Jordan. But when his Queen ſaw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of ſurviving ſhe came to him weeping, and lamenting, and bewailing herſelf, and her ſons, on the deſolate condition they ſhould be left in: And ſaid to him, "To whom doſt thou thus leave me, and my children, who are deſtitute of all other ſupports, and this when thou knoweſt how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice, "That ſhe need but follow what he would ſuggeſt to her, in order to retain the kingdom ſecurely, with her children, that ſhe ſhould conceal his death from the ſoldiers till ſhe ſhould have taken that place; after this, ſhe ſhould go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jeruſalem, and put ſome of her authority into the hands of the Phariſees, for that they would commend her for the honour ſhe had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her; for he told her, they had authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to ſuch as they hated, and to bring advantages to thoſe to whom they were friendly diſpoſed, for that they are then believed beſt of all by the multitude when they ſpeak any ſevere thing againſt others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he ſaid, that it was by their means that he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. Do thou, therefore, ſaid he, when thou art come to Jeruſalem, ſend for the leading men among them, and ſhew them my body, and with great appearance of ſincerity, give them leave to uſe it as they themſelves pleaſe, whether they will diſhonour the dead body by refuſing it burial, as having ſeverely ſuffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promiſe them alſo, that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou doſt but ſay this to them, I ſhall have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldſt have made for me: And when it is in their power to abuſe my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in ſafety *." So when he had

the days of Hyrcanus, compelled the inhabitants to leave their idolatry, and intirely to receive the law of Moſes, as proſelytes of Juſtice, or elſe baniſhed them into other lands. That excellent prince, John Hyrcanus, did it to the Idumeans, as I have noted on ch. ix. § 1 already, who lived then in the promiſed land, and this I ſuppoſe juſtly; but by what right the reſt did it, even to the countries or cities that were no part of that land, I do not at all know. This looks too like unjuſt perſecution for religion.

* It ſeems by this dying advice of Alexander Janneus to his wife, that he had

given his wife this advice, he died, after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

CHAP. XVI.

How Alexandra, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the Kingdom nine years, and then having done many Glorious actions died.

§ 1. SO Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear good-will and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them, that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

2. So she made Hyrcanus high-priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics,

himself pursued the measuers of his father Hyrcanus, and taken part with the Sadducees, who kept close to the written law, against the Pharisees, who had introduced their own traditions, ch. xvi. § 2. and that he now saw a political necessity of submitting to the Pharisees, and their traditions hereafter, if his widow and family minded to retain their monarchical government or tyranny over the Jewish nation: Which sect yet, thus supported, were at last in great measure the ruin of the religion, government, and nation of the Jews, and brought them into so wicked a state, that the vengeance of God came upon them to their utter excision. Just thus did Caiaphas politically advise the Jewish sanhedrim, John xi. 50 *That it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not;* and this in consequence of their own political supposal, ver. 48. that *If they let Jesus alone,* with his miracles, *all men would believe on him, and the Romans would come and take away both their place and nation.* Which political crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth brought down the vengeance of God upon them, and occasioned those very Romans, of whom they seemed so much afraid, that to prevent it they put him to death, actually to *come and take away both their place and nation,* within 38 years afterwards. I heartily wish the politicians of Christendom would consider these and the like examples, and no longer sacrifice all virtue and religion to their pernicious schemes of government, to the bringing down the judgments of God upon themselves, and the several nations intrusted to their care. But this is a digression: I wish it were an unseasonable one also. Josephus himself several times makes such digressions, and I here venture to follow him. See one of them at the conclusion of the very next chapter.

and permitted the Phariſees to do every thing; to whom alſo ſhe ordered the multitude to be obedient. She alſo reſtored again thoſe practices which the Phariſees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So ſhe had indeed the name of the Regent, but the Phariſees had the authority; for it was they who reſtored ſuch as had been baniſhed, and ſet ſuch as were priſoners at liberty, and, to ſay all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen alſo took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary ſoldiers, and increaſed her own army to ſuch a degree, that ſhe became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hoſtages of them: And the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Phariſees; for they diſturbed the queen, and deſired that ſhe would kill thoſe who perſuaded Alexander to ſlay the eight hundred men; after which they cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes: And after him they did the ſame to ſeveral, one after another, till the men that were the moſt potent came into the palace, and Ariſtobulus with them, for he ſeemed to be diſpleaſed at what was done, and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on ſo. "Theſe put the queen in mind what great dangers they had gone through, and great things they had done, whereby they had demonſtrated the firmneſs of their fidelity to their maſter, inſomuch that they had received the greateſt marks of favour from him: And they begged of her, that ſhe would not utterly blaſt their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had eſcaped the hazards that aroſe from their [open] enemies, they were to be cut off at home by their [private] enemies, like brute beaſts, without any help whatſoever. They ſaid alſo, that if their adverſaries would be ſatisfied with thoſe that had been ſlain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their governors; but if they muſt expect the ſame for the future alſo, they implored of her a diſmiſſion from her ſervice; for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would rather die willingly before the palace-gate, in caſe ſhe would not forgive them. And that it was a great ſhame both for themſelves, and for the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they ſhould come under the laſh of her huſband's enemies; for that Aretas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs, would give any reward, if they could get ſuch men as foreign auxiliaries, to whom their very names, before their voices be heard, may perhaps be terrible: But if they could not obtain this their ſecond requeſt, and if ſhe had determined to prefer the Phariſees before them, they ſtill inſiſted that ſhe would place them every one in her fortreſſes; for if ſome fatal demon hath a conſtant ſpite againſt Alexander's houſe, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private ſtation there."

3. As theſe men ſaid thus, and called upon Alexander's ghoſt for commiſeration of thoſe already ſlain, and thoſe in danger of it, all the byſtanders brake out into tears: But Ariſtobulus chiefly made manifeſt what were his ſentiments, and uſed many repraochful expreſſions to his mother [ſaying], "Nay indeed, the caſe is this, that they have been themſelves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman who, againſt reaſon, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were ſons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexandra, not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the fortreſſes to them all but Hyrcania and Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treaſures were. After a little while alſo, ſhe ſent her ſon Ariſtobulus with an army to Damaſcus againſt Ptolemy who was called Menneus, who was ſuch a bad neighbour to the city; but he did nothing conſiderable there, and ſo returned home.

4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with * five hundred thouſand ſoldiers, and was coming againſt Judea. This news, as may well be ſuppoſed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly they ſent him many and very valuable preſents, as alſo ambaſſadors, and that as he was beſieging Ptolemais; for Selene the queen, the ſame that was alſo called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had perſuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewiſh ambaſſadors interceded with him, and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was ſevere about their queen or nation. He commended them for the reſpects they paid him at ſo great a diſtance: And gave them good hopes of his favour. But as ſoon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes, that Lucullus, in his purſuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waſte Armenia, and beſieging its cities. Now, when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

5. After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous diſtemper, Ariſtobulus reſolved to attempt the ſeizing of the government; ſo he ſtole away ſecretly by night, with only one of his ſervants, and went to the fortreſſes, wherein his friends, that were ſuch from the days of his father, were ſettled: For as he had been a great while diſpleaſed at his mother's conduct, ſo he was now much more afraid, leſt, upon her death, their whole family ſhould be under the power of the Phariſees, for he ſaw the inability of his brother, who was to ſucceed in the government: Nor was any one conſcious of what he was doing but only his wife, whom he left at Jeruſa-

* The number of 500,000 or even 300,000, as one Greek copy, with the Latin copies, have it, for Tigranes's army, that came out of Armenia into Syria and Judea, ſeems much too large. We have had already ſeveral ſuch extravagant numbers in Joſephus's preſent copies, which are not to be at all aſcribed to him. Accordingly I incline to Dr. Hudſon's emendation here, which ſuppoſes them but 40,000.

lem with their children. He firſt of all came to Agaba, where was Galeſtes, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day the queen perceived that Ariſtobulus was fled; and for ſome time ſhe ſuppoſed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation, but when meſſengers came one after another, with the news that he had ſecured the firſt place, the ſecond place, and all the places, for as ſoon as one had begun, they all ſubmitted to his diſpoſal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greateſt diſorder, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Ariſtobulus would be able to ſettle himſelf firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict puniſhment upon them for the mad treatment his houſe had had from them: So they reſolved to take his wife and children into cuſtody, and keep them in the * fortreſs that was over the temple. Now there was a mighty conflux of people that came to Ariſtobulus from all parts, inſomuch that he had a kind of royal attendants about him; for in a little more than fifteen days, he got twenty-two ſtrong places, which gave him the opportunity of raiſing an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs; for men are eaſily led by the greater number, and eaſily ſubmit to them. And beſides this, that by affording him their aſſiſtance, when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, ſhould have the advantages that would come by his being king, becauſe they had been the occaſion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and deſired. "That ſhe would give them her ſentiments about the preſent poſture of affairs, for that Ariſtobulus was in effect lord of almoſt all the kingdom, by poſſeſſing of ſo many ſtrong holds, and that it was abſurd for them to take any counſel by themſelves, how ill ſoever ſhe were, while ſhe was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time." But ſhe "bid them do what they thought proper to be done: That they had many circumſtances in their favour ſtill remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their ſeveral treaſuries, for that ſhe had ſmall concern about public affairs now, when the ſtrength of her body already failed her."

6. Now a little while after ſhe had ſaid this to them, ſhe died, when ſhe had reigned nine years, and had in all lived ſeventy-three. A woman ſhe was who ſhewed no ſigns of the weakneſs of her ſex, for ſhe was ſagacious to the greateſt degree in her ambition of governing; and demonſtrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that ſometimes men themſelves ſhew the little underſtanding they have by the

* This fortreſs, caſtle, citadel, or tower, whither the wife and children of Ariſtobulus were now ſent, and which overlooked the temple, could be no other than what Hyrcanus I. built, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. iv. § 3. vol. II. and Herod the Great rebuilt, and called the *Tower of Antonia*, Antiq. B. XV. ch. xi. § 5.

frequent miſtakes they make in point of government; for ſhe always preferred the preſent to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in compariſon of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, ſhe brought the affairs of her houſe to ſuch an unfortunate condition, that ſhe was the occaſion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which ſhe had obtained by a vaſt number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a deſire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her ſentiments with thoſe that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving the adminiſtration deſtitute of a proper ſupport of great men; and indeed, her management during her adminiſtration, while ſhe was alive, was ſuch, as filled the palace after her death with calamities and diſturbance. However, although this had been her way of governing, ſhe preſerved the nation in peace. And this is the concluſion of the affairs of Alexandra.

BOOK XIV.

Containing the interval of thirty-two years.

[*From the Death of Queen* ALEXANDRA *to the Death of* ANTIGONUS.]

CHAP. I.

The War between Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom; and how they made an agreement, that Ariſtobulus ſhould be King, and Hyrcanus live a private life; as alſo how Hyrcanus a little afterward, was perſuaded by Antipater to fly to Aretas.

1. WE have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death in the foregoing book, and will now ſpeak of what followed, and was connected with thoſe hiſtories; declaring before we proceed, that we have nothing ſo much at heart as this, that we may * omit no facts either through ignorance or lazineſs, for we are upon the hiſtory and explication of ſuch things as the greateſt part are unacquainted withal, becauſe of their diſtance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of ſtile, ſo far as that is derived from proper words harmonically diſpoſed, and from ſuch ornaments of ſpeech alſo as may contribute to the pleaſure of our readers, that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with ſome agreeable ſatisfaction and pleaſure. But the principal ſcope that authors ought to aim at above all the reſt, is to ſpeak accurately, and to ſpeak truly, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that are otherwiſe unacquainted with ſuch tranſactions, and obliged to believe what theſe writers inform them of.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high prieſthood on the third year of the hundred ſeventy-ſeventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortenſius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were conſuls at Rome; when preſently Ariſtobulus began to make war againſt him, and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his ſoldiers deſerted him, and went over to his brother: Upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Ariſtobulus's wife and children were impriſoned by their mother, as we have ſaid already, and attacked and overcame thoſe his adverſaries that had fled thither,

* Reland takes notice here, very juſtly, how Joſephus's declaration, that it was his great concern not only to write *an agreeable, an accurate*, and *a true* hiſtory, but alſo diſtinctly *not to omit any thing* [of conſequence], either through *ignorance*, or *lazineſs*, implies, that he could not, conſiſtently with that reſolution, omit the mention of [ſo famous a perſon as] *Jeſus Chriſt*.

and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had ſent a meſſage to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aſide his enmity to him on theſe conditions, that Ariſtobulus ſhould be king; that he ſhould live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the eſtate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon theſe terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the ſight of the whole multitude, they departed, the one, Ariſtobulus, to the palace, and Hyrcanus as a private man to the former houſe of Ariſtobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus's, an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a ſeditious man; who was at enmity with Ariſtobulus, and had differences with him on account of his goodwill to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolaus of Damaſcus ſays, that Antipater was of the ſtock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea, but that aſſertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his ſon, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whoſe hiſtory we ſhall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at firſt called * Antipas, and that was his father's name alſo; of whom they relate this, that king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendſhip with thoſe Arabians, and Gazites, and Aſcalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large preſents, made them his faſt friends. But now, this younger Antipater was ſuſpicious of the power of Ariſtobulus, and was afraid of ſome miſchief he might do him, becauſe of his hatred to him, ſo he ſtirred up the moſt powerful of the Jews and talked againſt him to them privately; and ſaid, that "it was unjuſt to overlook the conduct of Ariſtobulus, who had gotten the government unrighteouſly, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth." And the ſame ſpeeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus; and told him, that his own life would be in danger, unleſs he guarded himſelf, and got ſhut of Ariſtobulus; for he ſaid, that the friends of Ariſtobulus omitted no opportunity of adviſing him to kill him, as being then, and not before, ſure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to theſe words of his, as being of a gentle diſpoſition, and one that did not eaſily admit of calumnies againſt other men. This temper of his not diſpoſing him to meddle with public affairs, and want of ſpirit occaſioned him to appear to ſpectators to be degenerous and

* That the famous Antipater's or Antipas's father was alſo *Antipater* or *Antipas*, (which two may juſtly be eſteemed one and the ſame name, the former with a Greek or Gentile, the latter with an Hebrew or Jewiſh termination,) Joſephus here aſſures us, though Euſebius indeed ſays it was Herod.

unmanly; while Ariſtobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man, and one of a great and generous ſoul.

4. Since therefore Antipater ſaw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he ſaid, he never ceaſed, day by day, to charge feigned crimes upon Ariſtobulus, and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him; and ſo, by urging him perpetually he adviſed him, and perſuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia; and promiſed, that if he would comply with his advice, he would alſo himſelf aſſiſt him, [and go with him]. When Hyrcanus heard this, he ſaid, that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus ſent Antipater firſt to the king of Arabia, in order to receive aſſurances from him, that when he ſhould come in the manner of a ſuppliant to him, he will not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received ſuch aſſurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jeruſalem. A while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and ſtole out of the city by night, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was; and as he was a very familiar friend of that king's, he perſuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus, into Judea, and this perſuaſion he continued every day without any remiſſion. He alſo propoſed to make him preſents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his ſuit. Moreover, Hyrcanus promiſed him that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would reſtore that country, and thoſe twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were theſe, Medaba, Naballo, Libias Tharabaſa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Mariſſa, Rudda, Luſſa, and Oruba.

CHAP. II.

How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an Expedition againſt Ariſtobulus, and beſieged Jeruſalem; and how Scaurus, the Roman General, raiſed the ſiege. Concerning the Death of Onias.

§ 1. AFTER theſe promiſes had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition againſt Ariſtobulus, with an army of fifty thouſand horſe and foot, and beat him in the battle. And when after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deſerters, Ariſtobulus was left deſolate, and fled to Jeruſalem; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army and made an aſſault upon the temple, and beſieged Ariſtobulus therein, the people ſtill ſupporting Hyrcanus, and aſſiſting him in the ſiege, while none but the prieſts continued with Ariſtobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and preſſed on the ſiege vigorouſly. As this happened at the time when the feaſt of unleavened bread was celebrated,

which we call the paſſover, the principal men among the Jews left the country, and fled into Egypt. Now there was one, whoſe name was Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intenſe heat, and whoſe prayers God had heard, and had ſent them rain. This man had hid himſelf, becauſe he ſaw that this ſeditoin would laſt a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewiſh camp, and deſired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, ſo he would in like manner make imprecations on Ariſtobulus and thoſe of his faction. And when, upon his refuſal, and the excuſes that he made, he was ſtill by the multitude compelled to ſpeak, he ſtood up in the midſt of them, and ſaid, "O God, the king of the whole world! ſince thoſe that ſtand now with me are thy people, and thoſe that are beſieged are alſo thy prieſts, I beſeech thee that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of thoſe againſt theſe, nor bring to effect what theſe pray againſt thoſe." Whereupon ſuch wicked Jews as ſtood about him, as ſoon as he had made this prayer, ſtoned him to death.

2. But God puniſhed them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: While the prieſts and Ariſtobulus were beſieged, it happened that the feaſt call the *Paſſover* was come, at which it is our cuſtom to offer a great number of ſacrifices to God; but thoſe that were with Ariſtobulus wanted ſacrifices, and deſired that their countrymen without would furniſh them with ſuch ſacrifices, and aſſured them they ſhould have as much money for them as they ſhould deſire; and when they required them to pay a thouſand drachmæ for each head of cattle, Ariſtobulus and the prieſts willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly. and thoſe within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the ſacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedneſs as to break the aſſurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furniſhing thoſe that wanted them with ſacrifices. And when the prieſts found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God, that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their puniſhment, but ſent a ſtrong and vehement ſtorm of wind that deſtroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modious of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmæ.

3. In the mean time Pompey ſent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himſelf in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes: But when Scaurus was come to Damaſcus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himſelf haſtily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambaſſadors came to him, both from Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, and both deſired he would aſſiſt them. And when both of them promiſed to give him money, Ariſtobulus four hundred talents,

and Hyrcanus no leſs, he accepted of Ariſtobulus's promiſe, for he was rich and had a great ſoul, and deſired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious, and made incredible promiſes in hopes of greater advantages; for it was not the ſame thing to take a city, that was exceeding ſtrong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country ſome fugitives, with a greater number of Nabateans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Ariſtobulus, for the reaſons before mentioned, and took his money, and raiſed the ſiege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or elſe he ſhould be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damaſcus again; and Ariſtobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called *Papyron*, and beat them in the battle, and ſlew about ſix thouſand of the enemy; with whom fell Phalion alſo, the brother of Antipater

CHAP. III.

How Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey, in order to argue who ought to have the Kingdom; and how, upon the flight of Ariſtobulus to the Fortreſs Alexandrium, Pompey led his Army againſt him, and ordered him to deliver up the Fortreſſes whereof he was poſſeſſed.

§ 1. A LITTLE afterward Pompey came to Damaſcus, and marched overy Celeſyria; at which time there came ambaſſadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea alſo, for Ariſtobulus had ſent him a great preſent, which was a * golden vine, of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this preſent in theſe words: "There came alſo an embaſſage out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thouſand pieces of gold; and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden: They called the thing TERPULE, *The delight*. However, we ourſelves ſaw that preſent repoſited at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inſcription, *The gift of Alexander the king of the Jews*. It was valued at five hundred

* This *golden vine* or *garden*, ſeen by Strabo at Rome, has its inſcription here, as if it were the gift of Alexander, the father of Ariſtobulus, and not of Ariſtobulus himſelf, to whom yet Joſephus aſcribes it; and in order to prove the truth of that part of his hiſtory, introduces this teſtimony of Strabo's; ſo that the ordinary copies ſeem to be here either erroneous or defective, and the original reading ſeems to have been either *Ariſtobulus*, inſtead of *Alexander*, with one Greek copy, or elſe *Ariſtobulus the ſon of Alexander*, with the Latin copies; which laſt ſeems to me the moſt probable: For as to archbiſhop Uſher's conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple, and that thence Ariſtobulus took it, and ſent it to Pompey, they are both very improbable, and no way agreeable to Joſephus, who would hardly have avoided the recording both theſe uncommon points of hiſtory, had he known any thing of them; nor would either the Jewiſh nation, or even Pompey himſelf, then have reliſhed ſuch a flagrant inſtance of ſacrilege.

talents; and the report is, that Ariſtobulus, the governor of the Jews, ſent it."

2. In a little time afterward came ambaſſadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Ariſtobulus; which laſt alſo accuſed ſuch as had taken bribes, firſt Gabinius, and then Scaurus, the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made theſe two his enemies, beſides thoſe he had before. And when Pompey had ordered thoſe that had controverſies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the ſpring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damaſcus; and as he went along he demoliſhed the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cogniſance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not leſs ſo than Dioniſius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded who was alſo his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the puniſhment of his crimes for a thouſand talents, with which money Pompey paid the ſoldiers their wages. He alſo conquered the place called *Lyſias*, of which Silas a Jew, was tyrant. And when he had paſſed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celeſyria, he came from Pella to Damaſcus; and there it was that he heard the cauſes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, who were at difference one with another, as alſo of the nation againſt them both, which did not deſire to be under kingly government, becauſe the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of ſubjection to the prieſts of that god whom they worſhipped, and [they complained,] that though theſe two were the poſterity of prieſts, yet did they ſeek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enſlave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Ariſtobulus, and that he hath but a ſmall part of the country under him, Ariſtobulus having taken away the reſt from him by force. He alſo accuſed him, that the incurſions which had been made into their neighbour's countries, and the piracies that had been at ſea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unleſs Ariſtobulus had been a man given to violence and diſorder: And there were no fewer than a thouſand Jews, of the beſt eſteem among them who confirmed this accuſation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Ariſtobulus alleged againſt him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which cauſed him to be deprived of the government; and that for himſelf he was neceſſitated to take it upon him, for fear leſt it ſhould be transferred to others. And that as to his title [of king,] it was no other than what his father had taken [before him.] He alſo called for witneſſes of what he ſaid, ſome perſons who were both young and inſolent: Whoſe purple gar-

ments, fine heads of hair and other ornaments, were deteſted [by the court,] and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cauſe in a court of juſtice, but as if they were marching in a pompous proceſſion.

3. When Pompey had heard the cauſes of theſe two, and had condemned Ariſtobulus for his violent procedure, he then ſpake civilly to them, and ſent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their country he would ſettle all their affairs, after he had firſt taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Ariſtobulus civilly, leſt he ſhould make the nation revolt, and hinder his return: Which yet Ariſtobulus did; for without expecting any farther determination, which Pompey had promiſed them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. At this behaviour Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading againſt the Nabateans and the auxiliaries that came from Damaſcus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition againſt Ariſtobulus: But as he paſſed by Pella, and Scythopolis, he came to Coreæ, which is the firſt entrance into Judea when one paſſes over the mid-land countries, where he came to a moſt beautiful fortreſs that was built on the top of a mountain called *Alexandrium*, whether Ariſtobulus had fled, and thence Pompey ſent his commands to him, that he ſhould come to him. Accordingly, at the perſuaſions of many, that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down: And when he had diſputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himſelf with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; ſo that he ſtill pretended he would obey Pompey in whatſoever he commanded, although at the ſame time he retired to his fortreſs, that he might not depreſs himſelf too low, and that he prepared for a war, in caſe it ſhould prove as he feared, that Pompey would tranſfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Ariſtobulus to deliver up the fortreſſes he held, and to ſend an injunction to their governors, under his own hand, for that purpoſe; for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands, he ſubmitted indeed to do ſo, but ſtill he retired in diſpleaſure to Jeruſalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain perſons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army againſt Ariſtobulus, that Mithridates was dead, and was ſlain by his ſon Pharnaces.

CHAP. IV.

How Pompey, when the Citizens of Jeruſalem ſhut the Gates againſt him, beſieged the City, and took it by force; as alſo what other things he did in Judea.

§ 1. NOW when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho (where the * palm-tree grows, and that baſſam which is an ointment of all the moſt precious, which upon any inciſion made in the wood with a ſharp ſtone, diſtils out thence like a juice) he marched in the morning to Jeruſalem. Hereupon Ariſtobulus repented of what he was doing, and came to Pompey, and [promiſed to] give him money, and received him into Jeruſalem, and deſired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleaſed peaceably. So Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him and ſent Gabinius, and ſoldiers with him to receive the money and the city: Yet was no part of this performed but Gabinius came back, being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promiſed, becauſe Ariſtobulus's ſoldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Ariſtobulus into priſon, and came himſelf to the city, which was ſtrong on every ſide, excepting the north, which was not ſo well fortified, for there was † a broad and deep ditch that encompaſſed the city, and included within it the temple, which was itſelf encompaſſed about with a very ſtrong ſtone wall.

2. Now there was a ſedition of the men that were within the city who did not agree what was to be done in their preſent circumſtances, while ſome thought it beſt to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Ariſtobulus's party exhorted them to ſhut the gates, becauſe he was kept in priſon. Now theſe prevented the others, and ſeized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themſelves to abide a

* Theſe expreſs teſtimonies of Joſephus's here, and Antiq. B. VIII. ch. vi. § 6. vol. I. and B. XV. ch. iv. § 2. vol. II. that the only baſſam gardens, and the beſt palm-trees, were, at leaſt in his days, near Jericho and Engaddi, about the north part of the dead ſea, (whereabout alſo Alexander the Great ſaw the baſſam drop,) ſhew the miſtake of thoſe that underſtand Euſebius and Jerom, as if one of thoſe gardens were at the ſouth part of that ſea, at Zoar or Segor, whereas they muſt either mean another Zoar or Segor, which was between Jericho and Engaddi, agreeably to Joſephus, which yet they do not appear to do, or elſe they directly contradict Joſephus, and were therein greatly miſtaken; I mean this, unleſs that baſſam, and the beſt palm-trees, grew much more ſouthward in Judea in the days of Euſebius and Jerom than they did in the days of Joſephus.

† The particular depth and breadth of this ditch, whence the ſtones for the wall about the temple were probably taken, are omitted in our copies of Joſephus, but ſet down by Strabo, B. XVI. p. 763 from whom we learn, that this ditch was 60 feet deep, and 250 feet broad. However, its depth is, in the firſt ſection, ſaid by Joſephus to be *immenſa* which exactly agrees to Strabo's deſcription, and which number in Strabo are a ſtrong confirmation of the truth of Joſephus's deſcription alſo.

siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Pilo with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace, to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined to the temple; and all those which were more distant, and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within; but when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places there about with a wall, wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions, but Pompey pitched his camp within [the wall,] on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in, was broken down; however, a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of labour while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about: And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next days. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations, by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened, by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city were taken on * the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that offered the sacrifice be compelled to run away, neither by the fear

* That is, on the 23d of Sivan, the annual fast for the defection and idolatry of Jeroboam, *who made Israel to sin*; or possibly some other fast might fall into that month, before and in the days of Josephus.

they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already ſlain, as thinking it better to ſuffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifeſt a degree of our piety that was falſe, but is the real truth, I appeal to thoſe that have written of the acts of Pompey; and among them. to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damaſcus]; and beſides theſe two, Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman hiſtory, who will bear witneſs to this thing *.

4. But when the battering engine was brought near, the greateſt of the towers was ſhaken by it, and fell down, and brake down a part of the fortifications, ſo the enemy poured in apace; and Cornelius Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla, with his ſoldiers, firſt of all aſcended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with thoſe that followed, on the other part, while Fabius, who was alſo a centurion, aſcended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him. But now all was full of ſlaughter; ſome of the Jews being ſlain by the Romans, and ſome by one another; nay ſome there were who threw themſelves down the precipices, or put fire to their houſes, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miſeries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thouſand, but of the Romans very few. Abſalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Ariſtobulus, was taken captive. And no ſmall enormities were committed about the temple itſelf, which, in former ages, had been inacceſſible, and ſeen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of thoſe that were with him alſo, and ſaw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to ſee but only for the high-prieſts. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candleſtick, and the pouring veſſels, and a great quantity of ſpices; and beſides theſe, there were among the treaſures two thouſand talents of ſacred money: Yet † did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point alſo he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to thoſe that had the charge of the temple to cleanſe it, and to bring what offerings the law required to

* It deſerves here to be noted, that this Phariſaical ſuperſtitious notion, that offenſive fighting was unlawful to Jews, even under the utmoſt neceſſity, on the Sabbath day; of which we hear nothing before the times of the Maccabees, was the proper occaſion of Jeruſalem's being taken by Pompey, Soſius, and by Titus, as appears from the places already quoted in the note on Antiq. B XIII. ch. viii. § 1. which ſcrupulous ſuperſtition, as to the obſervation of ſuch a rigorous reſt upon the Sabbath-day, our Saviour always oppoſed, when the Phariſaical Jews inſiſted on it, as is evident in many places in the New Teſtament, though he ſtill intimated how pernicious that ſuperſtition might prove to them in their flight from the Romans, Matt. xxv. 20.

† This is fully confirmed by the teſtimony of Cicero, who ſays, in his oration for Flaccus, That "Cneius Pompeius, when he was conqueror, and had taken Jeruſalem, did not touch any thing belonging to that temple."

God; and reſtored the high prieſthood to Hyrcanus, both becauſe he had been uſeful to him in other reſpects, and becauſe he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Ariſtobulus any aſſiſtance in his war againſt him. He alſo cut off thoſe that had been the authors of that war; and beſtowed proper rewards on Fauſtius, and thoſe others that mounted the wall with ſuch alacrity; and he made Jeruſalem tributary to the Romans; and took away thoſe cities of Celeſyria which the inhabitants of Judea had ſubdued, and put them under the government of the Roman preſident, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itſelf ſo high before, within its own bounds. Moreover he * rebuilt Gadara, which had been demoliſhed a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freed man, and reſtored the reſt of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as alſo Mariſſa, and Aſhdod, and Jamnia, and Arethuſa, to their own inhabitants: Theſe were in the inland parts. Beſides thoſe that had been demoliſhed, and alſo of the maritime cities, Gaza and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower; which laſt Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens, and temples, and changed its name to Ceſarea. All theſe Pompey left in a ſtate of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.

5. Now the occaſions of this miſery which came upon Jeruſalem, were Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, by raiſing a ſedition one againſt the other; for now we loſt our liberty, and became ſubject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to reſtore it to the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thouſand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly beſtowed on thoſe that were high-prieſts, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of theſe matters we ſhall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celeſyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haſte to Rome. He alſo carried bound along with him Ariſtobulus and his children; for he had two daughters, and as many ſons; the one of which ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his ſiſters.

* Of this deſtruction of Gadara here preſuppoſed, and its reſtoration by Pompey, ſee the note on the War, B. I. ch. vii. § 7. vol. III.

CHAP. V.

How Scaurus made a League of mutual Aſſiſtance with Aretas. And what Gabinius did in Judea, after he had conquered Alexander, the Son of Ariſtobulus.

§ 1. SCAURUS made now an expedition againſt Petrea, in Arabia, and ſet on fire all the places round about it, becauſe of the great difficulty of acceſs to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furniſhed him with corn out of Judea and with whatever he wanted, and this at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was ſent to Aretas, as an ambaſſador by Scaurus, becauſe he had lived with him formerly, he perſuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a ſum of money, to prevent the burning of his country; and undertook to be his ſurety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon theſe terms, ceaſed to make war any longer: Which was done as much at Scaurus's deſire, as at the deſire of Aretas.

2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, made an incurſion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome to Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many conſiderable actions: And particularly made war with Alexander, ſince Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppoſe his power, but was already attempting to rebuild the wall of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans, which were there, reſtrained him from that his deſign. However, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and ſuddenly got together ten thouſand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horſemen, and fortified Alexandrium, a fortreſs near to Coreæ and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore came upon him, having ſent Marcus Antonius with other commanders before. Theſe armed ſuch Romans as followed them; and, together with them, ſuch Jews as were ſubject to them, whoſe leaders were Pitholaus and Malichus, and they took with them alſo their friends that were with Antipater, and met Alexander, while Gabinius himſelf followed with his legion. Hereupon Alexander retired to Jeruſalem, where they fell upon one another, and it came to a pitched battle, in which the Romans ſlew of their enemies about three thouſand, and took a like number alive.

3. At which time Gabinius came to Alexandrium, and invited thoſe that were in it to deliver it up on certain conditions, and promiſed that then their former offences ſhould be forgiven: But as a great number of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortreſs, whom the Romans attacked, Marcus Antonius fought bravely, and ſlew a great number, and ſeemed to come off with the greateſt honour. So Gabini-

us left part of his army there, in order to take the place, and he himself went into other parts of Judea, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Athdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

4. When Gabinius had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium; and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an ambassage to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offences; he also delivered up the fortresses, Hyrcania, and Macherus; and at last Alexandrium itself, which fortresses Gabinius demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the same nation into the same number of parts: So these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho and the fifth at Sepphoris, in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from monarchic authority, and were governed by an * aristocracy.

CHAP. VI.

How Gabinius caught Aristobulus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome again; and how the same Gabinius, as he returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabateans in Battle.

§ 1. NOW Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished: Hereupon Gabinius sent soldiers against him, and for their commanders Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now, there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus

* Dean Prideaux well observes, "That notwithstanding the clamour against Gabinius at Rome, Josephus gives him a laudable character, as if he had acquitted himself with honour in the charge committed to him" [in Judea]. See at the year 58.

had reſolved to go to Macherus, he diſmiſſed thoſe people, becauſe they were unarmed, for they could not be uſeful to him in what actions they were going about, but he took with him eight thouſand that were armed, and marched on: And as the Romans fell upon them ſeverely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle; and when they had fought with alacrity, but were overborn by the enemy, they were put to flight; of whom were ſlain about five thouſand, and the reſt being diſperſed, tried, as well as they were able, to ſave themſelves. However Ariſtobulus had with him ſtill above a thouſand, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place, and though he had had ill ſucceſs, he ſtill had good hope of his affairs: But when he had ſtruggled againſt the ſiege for two days time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his ſon Antigonus, who alſo fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Ariſtobulus, who was ſent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high-prieſt for three years and ſix months; and was indeed an eminent perſon, and one of a great ſoul. However, the ſenate let his children go, upon Gabinius's writing to them, that he had promiſed their mother ſo much when ſhe delivered up the fortreſſes to him; and accordingly they then returned into Judea.

2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition againſt the Parthians, and had already paſſed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and reſolved to return into Egypt, in order to * reſtore Ptolemy to his kingdom. This hath alſo been related elſewhere. However, Antipater ſupplied his army, which he ſent againſt Archelaus, with corn and weapons, and money. He alſo made thoſe Jews, who were above Peluſium, his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the paſſes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in diſorder, with ſeditions and troubles; for Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, having ſeized on the government a ſecond time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him, and ſo he marched over the country with a great army, and ſlew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to beſiege the mountain called Gerizzim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in ſuch a ſtate, he ſent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to thoſe that were ſeditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madneſs, and perſuade them to return to a better mind; and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a ſound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do, but he could not reſtrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thouſand Jews, and

* This hiſtory is beſt illuſtrated by Dr. Hudſon out of Livy, who ſays, That "A. Gabinius the proconſul, reſtored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and ejected Archelaus, whom they had ſet up for King," &c. See Prid. at the years 64 and 65.

met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten and lost ten thousand of his men about mount Tabor.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanes, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, while neither of them say any thing new which is not in the other.

CHAP. VII.

How Crassus came into Judea, and pillaged the Temple; and then marched against the Parthians, and perished, with his Army. Also how Cassius obtained Syria; and put a stop to the Parthians, and then went up to Judea.

§ 1. NOW Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left; being two thousand talents, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minæ; each of which weighed two pounds and an half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was *Eleazar*, that gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man, but being entrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold, as a ransom for the whole, but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand [sheckels]. Now this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow, but was known to no others, but Eleazar alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and

Europe, ſent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeneſs of theſe ſums without its atteſtation; nor is that greatneſs owing to our vanity, as raiſing it without ground to ſo great an height: But there are many witneſſes to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who ſays thus: "Mithridates ſent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had depoſited there, as alſo eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now, we have no public money but as only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Aſian Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates, for it is not probable that thoſe of Judea, who had a ſtrong city and temple, ſhould ſend their money to Cos; nor is it likely that the Jews, who are inhabitants of Alexandria, ſhould do ſo neither, ſince they were in no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himſelf bears witneſs to the ſame thing in another place, that at the ſame time that Sylla paſſed over into Greece, in order to fight againſt Mithridates, he ſent Lucullus to put an end to a ſedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raiſed in Cyrene; where he ſpeaks thus: "There were four claſſes of men among thoſe of Cyrene, that of citizens, that of huſbandmen, the third of ſtrangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now theſe Jews are already gotten into all cities, and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not poſſeſſed by it: And it hath come to paſs that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the ſame governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of theſe Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater proſperity with them, and make uſe of the ſame laws with that nation alſo. Accordingly the Jews have places aſſigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, beſides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is alſo an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and diſtributes juſtice to them, and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful, becauſe the Jews were originally Egyptians, and becauſe the land wherein they inhabit, ſince they went thence, is near to Egypt. They alſo removed into Cyrene, becauſe that this land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather was formerly under the ſame government." And this is what Strabo ſays.

3. So when Craſſus had ſettled all things as he himſelf pleaſed, he marched into Parthia, where both he himſelf and all his army periſhed, as hath been related elſewhere. But Caſſius, as he fled from Rome to Syria, took poſſeſſion of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who by reaſon of their victory over Craſſus, made incurſions upon it: And as he came back to Tyre he went up into Judea alſo, and fell upon Taricheæ, and preſently took it, and carried about thirty thou-

ſand Jews captives; and ſlew Pitholaus, who ſucceeded Ariſtobulus in his ſeditious practices, and that by the perſuaſion of Antipater, who proved to have great intereſt in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans alſo: Out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was * *Cypros*, by whom he had four ſons, Phaſael, and Herod, who was afterwards made king, and Joſeph, and Pheroras; and a daughter, named *Salome*. This Antipater cultivated alſo a friendſhip and mutual kindneſs with other potentates, but eſpecially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought againſt Ariſtobulus. So Caſſius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet thoſe that were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

4. But ſome time afterward Cæſar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the ſenate were fled beyond the Ionian ſea, freed Ariſtobulus from his bonds, and reſolved to ſend him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might ſee matters right, as being a potent man in that country: But Ariſtobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cæſar, for thoſe of Pompey's party prevented it, and deſtroyed him by poiſon, and thoſe of Cæſar's party buried him. His dead body alſo lay for a good while embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward ſent it to Judea, and cauſed him to be buried in the royal ſepulchre. But Scipio, upon Pompey's ſending to him to ſlay Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, becauſe the young man was accuſed of what offences he had been guilty of at firſt againſt the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the ſon of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and ſent his ſon Philippion to Aſkelon to Ariſtobulus's wife, and deſired her to ſend back with him her ſon Antigonus, and her daughters: The one of which, whoſe name was *Alexandra*, Philippion fell in love with, and married her, though afterward his father Ptolemy ſlew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

* Dr. Hudſon obſerves, that the name of this wife of Antipater's in Joſephus was *Cypras*, as an Hebrew termination, but not *Cypris* the Greek name for Venus, as ſome critics were ready to correct it.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews become Confederates with Cesar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Cesar. The Honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.

§ 1. NOW after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Cesar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Cesar, when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus: For when Mithridatus of Pergamus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews armed men: He had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behind hand in their alacrity for Cesar, viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium; and when its inhabitants would not admit him he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was taken: But it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Cesar, but Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by shewing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cesar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted: And accordingly when they saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Cesar, they also invited Mithridates, to come to them; so he came and received them also into his army.

2. And when Mithridates, had gone over all Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish Camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left; and when it came to a fight, that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers along the shore, when he had already beaten the enemy that opposed him: So he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians who had been too hard

for him, to flight. He also took their camp and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off; of whose soldiers eight hundred fell, but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Cesar, and openly declared, that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation, insomuch that Cesar commended Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings: He happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

3. However, when Cesar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away from Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; and bestowd on Antipater the privileges of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where: And it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Asinius: "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first went out alone, but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers to go along with him, and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high priest, was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cesar, and lamented his father's fate; and complained, that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity of him who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him." He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present and made his defence as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated, that "Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Cesar in mind what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them, and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies; and that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that that did it."

5. When Antipater had made this speech, Cesar appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest; and gave Antipater what princi-

pality he himſelf ſhould chooſe, leaving the determination to himſelf: So he made him procurator of Judea. He alſo gave Hyrcanus leave to raiſe up the walls of his own city, upon his aſking that favour of him, for they had been demoliſhed by Pompey. And this grant he ſent to the conſuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The * decree of the ſenate was this that follows: "Lucius Valerius, the ſon of Lucius the pretor, referred this to the ſenate, upon the ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were preſent at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the ſon of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander the ſon of Jaſon, and Numenius the ſon of Antiochus, and Alexander the ſon of Doſitheus, ambaſſadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, propoſed, who came to renew that league of good-will and friendſhip with the Romans which was in being before. They alſo brought a ſhield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thouſand pieces of gold; and deſired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleaſed [the ſenate] to make a league of friendſhip and good-will with them, and to beſtow on them whatſoever they ſtood in need of, and to accept of the ſhield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high-prieſt and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyrcanus alſo received honours from the people of Athens, as having been uſeful to them on many occaſions. And when they wrote to him, they ſent him this decree, as it here follows: "Under the prutaneia and prieſthood of Dionyſius, the ſon of Eſculapius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the ſon of Menander of Alimuſia, was the ſcribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the Prutaneia, a council of the preſidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus the high-prieſt, and the fellow preſidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionyſius, the ſon of Dionyſius, gave the ſentence: Since Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, the high-prieſt and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general,

* Take Dr. Hudſon's note upon this place, which I ſuppoſe to be the truth: "Here is ſome miſtake in Joſephus: For when he had promiſed us a decree for the reſtoration of Jeruſalem, he brings in a decree of far greater antiquity, and that a league of friendſhip and union only. One may eaſily believe that Joſephus gave order for one thing, and his amanuenſis performed another, by tranſpoſing decrees that concerned the Hyrcani, and as deluded by the ſameneſs of their names; for that belongs to the *firſt* high prieſt of this name, [John Hyrcanus,] which Joſephus here aſcribes to one that lived *later*, [Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander Janneus.] However, the decrees which he propoſes to ſet down follows a little lower, in the collection of Roman decrees, that concerned the Jews, and is that dated when Cæſar was conſul the fifth time." See chap. x. § 5.

and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treat them with all ſorts of kindneſs; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambaſſadors, or on any occaſion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and ſees that they are conducted back in ſafety, of which we have had ſeveral former teſtimonies, it is now alſo decreed, at the report of Theodoſius, the ſon of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpoſe is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honour him with a crown of gold, the uſual reward according to the law, and to erect his ſtatue in braſs in the temple of Demus, and of the graces; and that this preſent of a crown ſhall be proclaimed publicly in the theatre, in the Dionyſian ſhews, while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean and Eleuſinian, and Gymnical ſhews alſo; and that the commanders ſhall take care, while he continues in his friendſhip, and preſerves his good-will to us, to return all poſſible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generoſity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a ſuitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honours we have already paid him. That ambaſſadors be alſo choſen out of all the Athenians, who ſhall carry this decree to him, and deſire him to accept of the honours we do him, and to endeavour always to be doing ſome good to our city." And this ſhall ſuffice us to have ſpoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens, to Hyrcanus.

CHAP. IX.

How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jeruſalem to Phaſaelus: As alſo, how Herod, upon the Jews envy at Antipater, was accuſed before Hyrcanus.

§ 1. NOW when Cæſar had ſettled the affairs of Syria, he ſailed away: And as ſoon as Antipater had conducted Cæſar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raiſed up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country, and this by both threatening and adviſing them to be quiet: For that, "If they would be of Hyrcanus's ſide, they would live happily, and lead their lives without diſturbance, in the enjoyment of their own poſſeſſions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby they, ſhould have him a ſevere maſter, inſtead of a gentle governor, and Hyrcanus a tyrant, inſtead of a king, and the Romans, together with Cæſar, their bitter enemies, inſtead of rulers, for that they would never bear him to be ſet aſide whom they had

appointed to govern." And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but * fifteen years of age: But that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signalizing his courage: For finding that there was one Hezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria, with a great troop of them, he seized him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians, for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them: So they sung songs in his commendation in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions; and on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Cæsar, who was a relation of the great Cæsar's, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it: So he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good will, while he held the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendor of his, as frequently happens in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good will the nation bear to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea; and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they became ill disposed to him: For indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors; and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and purloined the present intended, and sent it, as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it, nay, he rather was very glad of it: But the chief men of the Jews

* Those who will carefully observe the several occasional numbers and chronological characters in the life and death of this Herod, and of his children, hereafter noted, will see, that *twenty five* years, and not *fifteen* must for certain have been here Josephus's own number for the age of Herod, when he was made governor of Galilee. See chap. xxiii. § 5. and ch. xxiv. § 7 and particularly Antiq. B. XVII. ch. viii. § 1. Vol. II., where about 44 years afterwards Herod dies an old man at about 70.

were therefore in fear, becauſe they ſaw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very deſirous of acting tyrannically; ſo they came to Hyrcanus, and now accuſed Antipater openly, and ſaid to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under ſuch actions as are now done? Or doſt thou not ſee that Antipater and his ſons have already ſeized upon the government? and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou ſuffer theſe things to be hidden from thee; nor do thou think to eſcape danger, by being ſo careleſs of thyſelf and of thy kingdom; for Antipater and his ſons are not now ſtewards of thine affairs: Do not thou deceive thyſelf with ſuch a notion, they are evidently abſolute lords; for Herod, Antipator's ſon, hath ſlain Hezekiah and thoſe that were with him, and hath thereby tranſgreſſed our law, which hath forbidden to ſlay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unleſs he had been firſt * condemned to ſuffer death by the ſanhedrim; yet hath he been ſo inſolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

4. Upon Hyrcanus's hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers alſo of thoſe that had been ſlain by Herod raiſed his indignation; for theſe women continued every day in the temple, perſuading the king, and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the ſanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was ſo moved by theſe complaints, that he ſummoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came; but his father had perſuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the ſecurity of his perſon; and that when he had ſettled the affairs of Galilee in the beſt manner he could for his own advantage, he ſhould come to his trial; but ſtill with a body of men ſufficient for his ſecurity on his journey, yet ſo that he ſhould not come with ſo great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but ſtill ſuch an one as might not expoſe him naked and unguarded [to his enemies]. However, Sextus Cæſar, preſident of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and deſired him to clear Herod, and diſmiſs him at his trial, and threatened him before hand, if he did not do it. Which epiſtle of his was the occaſion of Hyrcanus's delivering Herod from ſuffering any harm from the ſanhedrim; for he loved him as his own ſon. But when Herod ſtood before the ſanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all, and no one of his former accuſers durſt after that bring any charge againſt him, but there was a deep ſilence, and no body knew

* It is here worth our while to remark, that none could be put to death in Judea but by the approbation of the Jewiſh ſanhedrim, their being an excellent proviſion in the law of Moſes, that even in criminal cauſes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal ſhould lie from the leſſer councils of ſeven in the other cities, to the ſupreme council of ſeventy-one at Jeruſalem. And this is exactly according to our Saviour's words, when he ſays, *It could not be that a prophet ſhould periſh out of Jeruſalem*, Luke xiii. 33.

what was to be done. When affairs ſtood thus, one whoſe name was * *Sameas*, a righteous man he was, and for that reaſon above all fear, who roſe up, and ſaid, "O you that are aſſeſſors with me, and O thou that art our king, I neither have ever myſelf known ſuch a caſe, nor do I ſuppoſe that any one of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever ſtood in ſuch a manner before us; but every one, whoſoever he be, that comes to be tried by this ſanhedrim, preſents himſelf in a ſubmiſſive manner, and like one that is in fear of himſelf, and that endeavours to move us to compaſſion, with his hair diſhevelled, and in a black and mourning garment: But this admirable man Herod, who is accuſed of murder, and called to anſwer ſo heavy an accuſation, ſtands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we ſhall condemn him by our law he may ſlay us, and by overbearing juſtice may himſelf eſcape death. Yet do not I make this complaint againſt Herod himſelf; he is to be ſure more concerned for himſelf than for the laws; but my complaint is againſt yourſelves, and your king, who give him a licenſe ſo to do. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to abſolve and diſmiſs, for the ſake of Hyrcanus, will one day puniſh both you and your king himſelf alſo." Nor did Sameas miſtake in any part of this prediction: For when Herod had received the kingdom, he ſlew all the members of this ſanhedrim, and Hyrcanus himſelf alſo, excepting Sameas, for he had a great honour for him on account of his righteouſneſs, and becauſe, when the city was afterward beſieged by Herod and Soſius, he perſuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them, "That for their ſins they would not be able to eſcape his hands." Which things will be related by us in their proper places.

5. But when Hyrcanus ſaw that the members of the ſanhedrim were ready to pronounce the ſentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and ſent privately to Herod, and adviſed him to fly out of the city, for that by this means, he might eſcape. So he retired to Damaſcus, as though he fled from the king: And when he had been with Sextus Cæſar, and had put his own affairs in a ſure poſture, he reſolved to do thus, that in caſe he were again ſummoned before the ſanhedrim to take his trial, he would not obey that ſummons. Hereupon the members of the ſanhedrim had great indignation at this poſture of affairs, and endeavoured to perſuade Hyrcanus, that all theſe things were againſt him. Which ſtate of matters he was not ignorant of; but his temper was ſo unmanly, and ſo fooliſh, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Ce-

* This account, as Reland obſerves, is confirmed by the Talmudiſts, who call this Sameas, *Simeon the ſon of Shetach.*

leſyria, for he ſold him that poſt for money, Hyrcanus was in fear leſt Herod ſhould make war upon him: Nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him, for Herod came, and brought an army along with him, to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been ſummoned to undergo before the Sanhedrim: But his father Antipater, and his brother [Phaſælus], met him, and hindered him from aſſaulting Jeruſalem. They alſo pacified his vehement temper, and perſuaded him to do no overt action, but only to affright them with threatenings, & to proceed no farther againſt one who had given him the dignity he had: They alſo deſired him not only to be angry that he was ſummoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal, how he was diſmiſſed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the ſame, and that he was not to regard only what was diſagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they deſired him to conſider, that ſince it is God that turns the ſcales of war, there is great uncertainty in the iſſues of battles, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he ſhould fight with his king, and him that had ſupported him, and beſtowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing itſelf very ſevere to him; for that his accuſation, which was derived from evil counſellors, and not from himſelf, had rather the ſuſpicion of ſome ſeverity, than any thing really ſevere in it. Herod was perſuaded by theſe arguments, and believed that it was ſufficient for his future hopes to have made a ſhew of his ſtrength before the nation, and done no more to it: And in this ſtate were the affairs of Judea at this time.

CHAP. X.

The honours that were paid the Jews; and the Leagues that were made by the Romans, and other nations, with them.

§ 1. NOW when Cæſar was come to Rome, he was ready to ſail into Africa to fight againſt Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus ſent ambaſſadors to him, and by them deſired that he would ratify that league of friendſhip and mutual alliance which was between them. And it ſeems to me to be neceſſary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual aſſiſtance they have made with it, that all the reſt of mankind may know what regard the kings of Aſia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly ſatisfied of our courage and fidelity; for, whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Perſians and Macedonians, becauſe thoſe writings are not every where to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourſelves and certain other barbarous nations, while there is no contra-

diction to be made againſt the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant ſtill in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of braſs; nay, beſides this, Julius Cæſar made a pillar of braſs for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of theſe evidences will I demonſtrate what I ſay; and will now ſet down the decrees made both by the ſenate, and by Julius Cæſar, which relate to Hyrcanus, and to our nation.

2. "Caius Julius Cæſar, imperator and high prieſt, and dictator the ſecond time, to the magiſtrates ſenate, and people of Sidon, ſendeth greeting: If you be in health it is well. I alſo, and the army are well. I have ſent you a copy of that decree, regiſtered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, the high prieſt and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly propoſed in a table of braſs, both in Greek, and in Latin. It is as follows: I Julius Cæſar, imperator the ſecond time, and high prieſt, have made this decree, with the approbation of the ſenate: Whereas Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander the Jew, hath demonſtrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace, and in war, as many of our generals have borne witneſs, and came to our aſſiſtance in the laſt *Alexandrian war with fifteen hundred ſoldiers; and when he was ſent by me to Mithridates, ſhewed himſelf ſuperior in valour to all the reſt of that army: For theſe reaſons I will, that Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high prieſthood of the Jews for ever according to the cuſtoms of their forefathers, and that he and his ſons be our confederates; and that beſides this, every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I alſo ordain, that he and his children retain whatſoever privileges belong to the office of high prieſt, or whatſoever favours have been hitherto granted them. And if at any time hereafter there ariſe any queſtions about the Jewiſh cuſtoms, I will that he determine the ſame. And I think it not proper that they ſhould be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money ſhould be required of them."

3. "The decrees of Caius Ceſar, conſul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed; and that he as himſelf the high-prieſt and ethnarch of the Jews, defend theſe that are injured. And that ambaſſadors be ſent to Hyrcanus the ſon of Alexander, the high-prieſt of the Jews that may diſcourſe with him about a league of friendſhip and mu-

* That Hyrcanus was himſelf in Egypt, along with Antipater, at this time, to whom accordingly the bold and prudent actions of his deputy Antipater are here aſcribed, as this decree of Julius Cæſar ſuppoſes, we are farther aſſured by the teſtimony of Strabo, already produced by Joſephus, chap. viii § 2.

tual aſſiſtance, and that a table of braſs, containing the premiſes, be openly propoſed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Aſkelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: That this decree may alſo be communicated to the queſtors and pretors of the ſeveral cities, and to the friends of the Jews: And that the ambaſſadors may have preſents made them, that theſe decrees be ſent every where"

4. "Caius Ceſar, imperator, dictator, conſul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honour and virtue, and kindneſs of the man, and for the advantage of the ſenate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, both he and his children be high-prieſts and prieſts of Jeruſalem, and of the Jewiſh nation, by the ſame right, and according to the ſame laws, by which their progenitors have held the prieſthood."

5. "Caius Ceſar, conſul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews ſhall poſſeſs Jeruſalem, and may encompaſs that city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, the high-prieſt and ethnarch of the Jews, retain in the manner he himſelf pleaſes; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every ſecond year the land is let [in the ſabbatic period] a corus of that tribute, and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the ſame tribute."

6. "Caius Ceſar, imperator the ſecond time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city Jeruſalem, excepting the ſeventh, which they call the Sabbatical year, becauſe thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they ſow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the ſecond year [of that Sabbatical period,] the fourth part of what was ſown: And beſides this, they are to pay the ſame tithes to Hyrcanus and his ſons, which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither preſident, nor lieutenant, nor ambaſſador, raiſe auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea, nor my ſoldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretence, but that they be free from all ſorts of injuries: And that whatſoever they ſhall hereafter have, and are in poſſeſſion of, or have bought, they ſhall retain them all. It is alſo our pleaſure, that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendſhip with the Romans, ſhall belong to them, as it formerly did, and that Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, and his ſons, have as tribute of that city from thoſe that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy-five modii every year, the ſeventh year, which they call the Sabbatic year, excepted, whereon they neither plough, nor receive the product of their trees. It is alſo the pleaſure of the ſenate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly poſſeſſed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them

with the ſame privileges with which they formerly had them alſo, and that the ſame original ordinances remain ſtill in force, which concern the Jews, with regard to their high-prieſts; and that they enjoy the ſame benefits which they have had formerly by the conceſſion of the people, and of the ſenate; and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleaſure alſo of the ſenate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain thoſe places, countries, and villages, which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phenicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had beſtowed on them as their free gifts. It is alſo granted to Hyrcanus, and to his ſons, and to the ambaſſadors by them ſent to us, that in the fights between ſingle gladiators and in thoſe with beaſts, they ſhall ſit among the ſenators to ſee thoſe ſhews; and that when they deſire an audience, they ſhall be introduced into the ſenate by the dictator or by the general of the horſe; and when they have introduced them, their anſwers ſhall be returned them in ten days at the fartheſt, after the decree of the ſenate is made about their affairs."

7. "Caius Ceſar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and conſul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this ſpeech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus the ſon of Alexander, the high-prieſt and ethnarch of the Jews. Since thoſe * imperators that have been in the provinces before me have borne witneſs to Hyrcanus, the high prieſt of the Jews, and to the Jews themſelves, and this before the ſenate and people of Rome, when the people and ſenate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now alſo remember the ſame, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the ſons of Hyrcanus, by the ſenate and people of Rome, and that ſuitably to what good will they have ſhewn us, and to the benefits they have beſtowed upon us."

8. "Julius Caius, pretor [conſul] of Rome, to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of the Parians, ſendeth greeting: The Jews of Delos, and ſome other Jews that ſojourn there, in the preſence of your ambaſſadors, ſignified to us, that by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make uſe of the cuſtoms of their forefathers, and their way of ſacred worſhip. Now it does not pleaſe me, that ſuch decrees ſhould be made againſt our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own cuſtoms, or to bring in contributions, for common ſuppers, and holy feſtivals, while they are not forbidden ſo to do even at Rome itſelf; for even Caius Ceſar our imperator and conſul, in that decree wherein he forbad the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit theſe

* Dr. Hudſon juſtly ſuppoſes, that the Roman imperators, or generals of armies, meant both here and § 2. who gave teſtimony to Hyrcanus's and the Jews faithfulneſs and good will to the Romans before the ſenate and people of Rome, were principally Pompey, Scaurus, and Gabinius: Of all whom Joſephus had already given us the hiſtory, ſo far as the Jews were concerned with them.

Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue, and kind disposition towards us."

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed, to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work, may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say: The decree was this:

10. "The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the questors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Gornelius were questors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius, Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinius Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilius of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Platius, the son of Publius of the Papyrian tribe, Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Ennius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, Marcus Quintius Plancillus, the son of Marcus of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which by the decree of the senate, Caius Cesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, our consuls to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city questors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high-priest were these, Lysimachus the son of Pausanius, Alexander the son of Theodorus, Patroclus the son of Chereas, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dimiss the Jews from military services, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any farther deliberation, he sent an epistle to all

the Aſiatics, and particularly to the city of the Epheſians, the Metropolis of Aſia about the Jews; a copy of which epiſtle here follows:

12. "When Artemon was prytanis, on the firſt day of the month Leneon, Dolabella imperator to the ſenate, and magiſtrates, and people of the Epheſians ſendeth greeting: Alexander, the ſon of Theodorus, the ambaſſador of Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander the high-prieſt and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to ſhew that his countrymen could not go into their armies, becauſe they are not allowed to bear arms, or to travel on the Sabbath days, nor there to procure themſelves thoſe ſorts of food which they have been uſed to eat from the times of their forefathers; I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to uſe the cuſtoms of their forefathers, in aſſembling together for ſacred and religious purpoſes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations neceſſary for ſacrifices: And my will is that you write this to the ſeveral cities under your juriſdiction."

13. And theſe were the conceſſions that Dolabella made to our nation, when Hyrcanus ſent an embaſſage to him. But Lucius the conſul's decree run thus: "I have at my tribunal ſet theſe Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewiſh religious rites, and yet live at Epheſus, free from going into the army, on account of the ſuperſtition they are under. This was done before the twelfth, of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus, and Caius Marcellus, were conſuls in the preſence of Titus Appius Balgus, the ſon of Titus, and lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, of Titus Tongius, the ſon of Titus of the Cruſtamine tribe, of Quintus Reſius, the ſon of Quintus, of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the ſon of Titus, of Caius Servilius, the ſon of Caius of the Terentine tribe, of Bracchus the military tribune, of Publius Lucius Gallus, the ſon of Publius of the Veturian tribe, of Caius Sentius, the ſon of Caius of the Sabbatine tribe, of Titus Atilius Bulbus, the ſon of Titus, lieutenant and vice pretor, to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of the Epheſians, ſendeth greeting: Lucius Lentulus the conſul freed the Jews that are in Aſia from going into the armies at my interceſſion for them. And when I had made the ſame petition ſometime afterward to Phanius the imperator, and to Lucius Antonius the vice queſtor, I obtained that privilege of them alſo; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any diſturbance."

14. The decree of the Delians. "The anſwer of the pretors, when Beotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargeleon, while Marcus Piſo the lieutenant lived in our city, who was alſo appointed over the choice of the ſoldiers, he called us, and many other of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here any Jews, who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any diſturbance about going into the ar-

my, becauſe Cornelius Lentulus the conſul freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the ſuperſtition they are under; you are therefore obliged to ſubmit to the pretor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians about us alſo.

15. "Caius Phanius, the ſon of Caius, imperator and conſul, to the magiſtrates of Cos, ſendeth greeting: I would have you know that the ambaſſadors of the Jews have been with me, and deſired they might have thoſe decrees which the ſenate had made about them; which decrees are here ſubjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to, and take care of theſe men, according to the ſenate's decree, that they may be ſafely conveyed home through your country."

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the conſul: "I have diſmiſſed thoſe Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to obſerve the laws of the Jews at Epheſus, on account of the ſuperſtition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

17. "Lucius Antonius, the ſon of Marcus, vice queſtor, and vice pretor, to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of the Sardians, ſendeth greeting: Thoſe Jews that are our fellow-citizens of Rome, came to me, and demonſtrated that they had an aſſembly of their own, according to the laws of their fore-fathers, and this from the beginning, as alſo a place of their own, wherein they determined their ſuits and controverſies with one another: Upon their petition therefore to me, that theſe might be lawful for them, I give order that theſe their privileges be preſerved, and they be permitted to do accordingly."

18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the ſon of Spurius, and of Marcus the ſon of Marcus, and of Lucius the ſon of Publius: "We went to the proconſul, and informed him of what Doſitheus, the ſon of Cleopatrida of Alexandria deſired, that, if he thought good, he would diſmiſs thoſe Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to obſerve the rites of the Jewiſh religion, on account of the ſuperſtition they were under. Accordingly he did diſmiſs them. This was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

19. "In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were conſuls; and there were preſent Titus Appius Balbus, the ſon of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe. Titus Tongius of the Cruſtumine tribe, Quintus Reſius the ſon of Quintus, Titus Pompeius the ſon of Titus, Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus, the ſon of Caius, a military tribune, of the Terentine tribe, Publius Cluſius Gallus, the ſon of Publius, of the Veturian tribe, Caius Teutius the ſon of Caius, a military tribune, of the Emilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, the ſon of Sextus, of the Eſquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius the ſon of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander, the ſon of Titus, Publius Servilius

Strabo, the ſon of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, the ſon of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius Tertius, the ſon of Aulus and Appius Menas. In the preſence of theſe it was that Lentulus pronounced this decree: I have before the tribunal diſmiſſed thoſe Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accuſtomed to obſerve the ſacred rites of the Jews at Epheſus, on account of the ſuperſtition they are under."

20. "The magiſtrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius, the ſon of Caius, the conſul ſendeth greeting: Sopater the ambaſſador of Hyrcanus, the high-prieſt, hath delivered us an epiſtle from thee, whereby he lets us know, that certain ambaſſadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high-prieſt of the Jews, and brought an epiſtle written concerning their nation, wherein they deſire that the Jews may be allowed to obſerve their Sabbaths, and other ſacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that they may be under no command, becauſe they are our friends and confederates; and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now although the Trallians there preſent contradicted them, and were not pleaſed with theſe decrees, yet didſt thou give order that they ſhould be obſerved, and informedſt us that thou hadſt been deſired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epiſtle which thou ſenteſt us, and have laid it up by itſelf among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didſt ſend to us, we will take care that no complaint be made againſt us."

21. "Publius Servilius, the ſon of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconſul to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of the Mileſians, ſendeth greeting: Prytanes the ſon of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and held a court there, and informed me that you uſed the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the ſacred rites received from their forefathers; and to manage the fruits of the land, according to their ancient cuſtom, and that he had himſelf been the promulger of your decree, according as your laws require: I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both ſides, I gave ſentence that the Jews ſhould not be prohibited to make uſe of their own cuſtoms."

22. The decree of thoſe of Pergamus. When Cratippus was prytanis, on the firſt day of the month Deſius, the decree of the pretors was this: "Since the Romans, following the conduct of their anceſtors, undertake dangers for the common ſafety of all mankind, and are ambitious to ſettle their confederates and friends in happineſs, and in firm peace, and ſince the nation of the Jews, and their high-prieſt Hyrcanus, ſent as ambaſſadors to them, Strato, the ſon of Theodatus, and Apollonius, the ſon of Alexander, and Eneas, the ſon of Antipater, and Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Amyntas, and Soſipater,

the ſon of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs, the ſenate thereupon made a decree about what they had deſired of them, that Antiochus the king, the ſon of Antiochus, ſhould do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortreſſes, and the havens, and the country, and whatſoever elſe he had taken from them, ſhould be reſtored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying cuſtoms, but only Ptolemy the king of Alexandria, becauſe he is our confederate and friend: And that according to their deſire, the garriſon that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Pettius one of our ſenators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we ſhould take care that theſe things ſhould be done according to the ſenate's decree; and that we ſhould take care alſo that their ambaſſadors might return home in ſafety. Accordingly we admitted Theodorus into our ſenate and aſſembly, and took the epiſtle out of his hands, as well as the decree of the ſenate: And as he diſcourſed with great zeal about the Jews, and deſcribed Hyrcanus's virtue and generoſity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to every body that comes to him, we laid up the epiſtle in our public records; and made a decree ourſelves, that ſince we alſo are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do every thing we could for the Jews, according to the ſenate's decree. Theodorus alſo, who brought the epiſtle, deſired of our pretors, that they would ſend Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as alſo ambaſſadors to ſignify to him the affection of our people to him, and to exhort them to preſerve and augment their friendſhip for us, and be ready to beſtow other benefits upon us, as juſtly expecting to receive proper requitals from us; and deſiring them to remember that our * anceſtors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have [alſo] found it ſet down in our public records"

23. The decree of thoſe of Halicarnaſſus. When Memnon

* We have here a moſt remarkable and authentic atteſtation of the citizens of Pergamus, that Abraham was the father of all the Hebrews; that their own anceſtors were, in the oldeſt time, the friends of thoſe Hebrews; and that the public acts of their city, then extant, confirmed the ſame; which evidence is too ſtrong to be evaded by our preſent ignorance of the particular occaſion of ſuch ancient friendſhip and alliance between thoſe people. See the like full evidence of the kindred of the Lacedemonians and the Jews; and that becauſe they were both the poſterity of Abraham, by a public epiſtle of thoſe people the Jews, preſerved in the firſt book of the Maccabees xii. 19,—23. and thence by Joſephus, Antiq. B. XII. ch. iv. § 10. both which authentic records are highly valuable. It is alſo well worthy of obſervation, what Moſes Chorenenſis, the principal Armenian hiſtorian, informs us of, p. 83. that Arſaces, who raiſed the Parthian Empire, was of the ſeed of Abraham by Chetura; and that thereby was accompliſhed that prediction which ſaid, *kings of nations ſhall proceed from thee*, Gen. xvii. 6

the ſon of Oreſtidas by deſcent, but by adoption of Eunonymus, was prieſt, on the * * * day of the month Ariſterion, the decree of the people, upon the repreſentation of Marcus Alexander, was this; "Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, and to holineſs and ſince we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendſhip and mutual aſſiſtance between the Jews and our city, and that their ſacred offices, and accuſtomed feſtivals and aſſemblies may be obſerved by them, we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing ſo to do, may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to the Jewiſh laws; and may make their proſeuchæ at the ſea ſide, according to the cuſtoms of their forefathers; and if any one, whether he be a magiſtrate or private perſon, hindereth them from ſo doing, he ſhall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uſes of the city."

24. The decree of the Sardians. This decree was made by the ſenate and people, upon the repreſentation of the pretors: "Whereas thoſe Jews who are our fellow-citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the ſenate, and deſired of the people that upon the reſtitution of their law, and their liberty, by the ſenate and people of Rome, they may aſſemble together according to their ancient legal cuſtom, and that we will not bring any ſuit againſt them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may have their congregations, with their wives and children and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and ſacrifices to God: Now the ſenate and people have decreed to permit them to aſſemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that ſuch a place be ſet apart for them by the pretors, for the building and inhabiting the ſame, as they ſhall eſteem fit for that purpoſe: And that thoſe that take care of the proviſions for the city, ſhall take care that ſuch ſorts of food as they eſteem fit for their eating, may be imported into the city."

25. The decree of the Epheſians. When Menophilus was prytanis, on the firſt day of the month Artemiſius, this decree was made by the people: "Nicanor the ſon of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the repreſentation of the pretors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the ſon of Brutus, the proconſul, that they might be allowed to obſerve their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the cuſtoms of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the pretor hath granted their petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the Senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them ſhould be hindered from keeping the Sabbath-day, nor be fined for

ſo doing, but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

26. Now there are * many ſuch decrees of the ſenate and imperators of the Romans, and thoſe different from theſe before us, which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as alſo, there have been more decrees of the cities and reſcripts of the pretors, to ſuch epiſtles as concerned our rights and privileges: And certainly ſuch as are not ill diſpoſed to what we write, may believe that they are all to this purpoſe, and that by the ſpecimens which we have inſerted; for ſince we have produced evident marks that may ſtill be ſeen, of the friendſhip we have had with the Romans, and demonſtrated that thoſe marks are engraven upon columns and tables of braſs in the capitol, that are ſtill in being, and preſerved to this day, we have omitted to ſet them all down, as needleſs and diſagreeable; for I cannot ſuppoſe any one ſo perverſe as not to believe the friendſhip we have had with the Romans, while they have demonſtrated the ſame by ſuch a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the reſt of thoſe decrees, ſince we have ſhewed the ſame in thoſe we have produced. And thus have we ſufficiently explained that friendſhip and confederacy we at thoſe times had with the Romans.

CHAP. XI.

How † Marcus ſucceeded Sextus when he had been ſlain by Baſſus's treachery; and how, after the Death of Cæſar, Caſſius came into Syria, and diſtreſſed Judea; as alſo, how Malichus ſlew Antipater, and was himſelf ſlain by Herod.

§ 1. NOW it ſo fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great diſorder, and this on the occaſion following: Cecilius Baſſus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous deſign againſt Sextus Cæſar, and ſlew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; ſo there aroſe a great war about Apamia, while Cæſar's generals came againſt him with an army of horſemen and footmen: To theſe Antipater alſo ſent ſuccours,

* If we compare Joſephus's promiſe in § 1. to produce *all* the public decrees of the Romans in favour of the Jews with his excuſe here for omitting *many* of them, we may obſerve, that when he came to tranſcribe all thoſe decrees he had collected, he found them ſo numerous that he thought he ſhould too much tire his readers if he had attempted it, which he thought a ſufficient apology for his omitting the reſt of them; yet do thoſe by him produced afford ſuch a ſtrong confirmation to his hiſtory, and give ſuch great light to even the Roman antiquities themſelves, that I believe the curious are not a little ſorry for ſuch his omiſſions.

† For Marcus, the preſident of Syria, ſent as ſucceſſor to Sextus Cæſar, the Roman hiſtorians require us to read *Marcus* in Joſephus, and this perpetually, both in theſe Antiquities, and in his hiſtory Of the War, as the learned generally agree.

and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Cæsar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him; but Cæsar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact, however, is related elsewhere.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies. Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents: But Antipater when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, he divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it; and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what is required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he tho't it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expence of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydia and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, (for he assaulted him,) had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him an hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government: But his design was not unknown to Antipater, which when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defence with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said, that while Phasaelus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have a thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him: This was when Marcus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea,

proceeding so far that he had almost killed him, but still at the intercession of Antipater he saved him.

4. However Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus, he had saved his own murderer; for, now Cassius and Marcus had together an army, and intrusted the entire care of it with Herod, and made him general of the forces of Celesyria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen: And promised him, that after the war was over, they would make him king of Judea, for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Cæsar: But as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately, to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus's defence for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria; and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city; whereupon Malichus was affrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and for a pretence of excluding him alleged, that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night time, and affrighted Malichus; yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his with a loud voice: But Herod and his friends thought it proper not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word, that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately, to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had

taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money: And Herod thought that Malichus might be puniſhed while he was there; but he was ſomewhat apprehenſive of the thing, and deſigned to make ſome great attempt, and becauſe his ſon was then an hoſtage at Tyre, he went to that city, and reſolved to ſteal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Caſſius was in haſte to march againſt Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himſelf. But providence oppoſed his counſels; and Herod being a ſhrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he ſent thither before hand a ſervant in appearance indeed to get a ſupper ready, for he had ſaid before, that he would feaſt them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he perſuaded to go out againſt Malichus, with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the ſea ſhore, and ſtabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was ſo aſtoniſhed at what had happened, that his ſpeech failed him: And when after ſome difficulty, he had recovered himſelf, he aſked Herod, what the matter could be, and who it was that ſlew Malichus? And when he ſaid that it was done by the command of Caſſius, he commended the action; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conſpired againſt his own country. And this was the puniſhment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Caſſius was marched out of Syria, diſturbances aroſe in Judea: For Felix, who was left at Jeruſalem with an army, made a ſudden attempt againſt Phaſælus, and the people themſelves roſe in arms; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damaſcus, and was deſired to run to his brother's aſſiſtance, but was hindered by a diſtemper that ſeized upon him, till Phaſælus by himſelf had been too hard for Felix, and had ſhut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, diſmiſſed him. Phaſælus alſo complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet did he ſupport their enemies; for Malichus's brother made many places to revolt, and kept garriſons in them, and particularly Maſada, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of them all. In the mean time, Herod was recovered of his diſeaſe, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and upon certain conditions, diſmiſſed him alſo.

CHAP. XII.

Herod ejects Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, out of Judea, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him much money; on which account he would not admit of those that would have accused Herod: And what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians of the Jews.

§ 1. NOW * Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, and this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre, for this Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under, in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of its fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents out of the good will he bare to that city. When he had dispatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea presently, when he was just come into its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand daughter of Hyrcanus, by which wife he became the father of three male, and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antonius and Cesar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Cesar went into Gaul, [Italy] and Antony marched for Asia, who when he was arrived at Bithynia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came

* In this and the following chapters the reader will easily remark, how truly Grotius observes, in his notes on the Roman decrees in favour of the Jews, that their rights and privileges were commonly purchased of the Romans with money. Many examples of this sort, both as to the Romans, and others in authority, will occur in our Josephus, both now and hereafter, and need not be taken particular notice of on the several occasions in these notes. Accordingly the chief captain confesses to St. Paul, that *with a great sum he had obtained his freedom.* Acts xxii. 28. as had St. Paul's ancestors, very probably, purchased the like freedom for their family by money, as the same author justly concludes also.

thither, to accuſe Phaſaelus, and Herod, and they ſaid, that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning, but that theſe men had all the power; but Antony paid great reſpect to Herod, who was come to him to make his defence againſt his accuſers, on which account his adverſaries could not ſo much as obtain an hearing; which favour Herod had gained of Antony by money. But ſtill, when Antony was come to Epheſus, Hyrcanus the high prieſt, and our nation ſent an embaſſage to him which carried a crown of gold with them, and deſired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to ſet thoſe Jews free who had been carried captive by Caſſius, and this without their having fought againſt him, and to reſtore them that country, which, in the days of Caſſius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews deſires were juſt, and wrote immediately to Hyreanus, and to the Jews. He alſo ſent, at the ſame time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the ſame purpoſe.

3 "Marcus Antonius imperator, to Hyrcanus the high prieſt and ethnarch of the Jews, ſendeth greeting: If you be in health, it is well; I am alſo in health, with the army. Lyſimachus, the ſon of Pauſanius, and Joſephus the ſon of Menneus, and Alexander the ſon of Theodorus, your ambaſſadors, met me at Epheſus, and have renewed that embaſſage which they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently acquitted themſelves of the preſent embaſſage, which thou and thy nation have intruſted to them, and have fully declared the good will thou haſt for us. I am therefore ſatisfied, both by your actions, and your words, that you are well diſpoſed to us; and I underſtand that your conduct of life is conſtant and religious; ſo I reckon upon you as our own: But when thoſe that were adverſaries to you, and to the Roman people, and abſtained neither from cities nor temples, and did not obſerve the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our conteſt with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on thoſe who have been the authors of great injuſtice towards men, and of great wickedneſs towards the gods; for the ſake of which we ſuppoſe it was that the * ſun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the caſe of Ceſar. We have alſo overcome their conſpiracies, which threatened the gods themſelves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and inſolent attempts; and we have overcome that confuſed rout of men, half mad with ſpite againſt us, which they got together at Philippi, in Macedonia, when they ſeized on the places that

* This clauſe plainly alludes to that well known but unuſual and very long darkneſs of the ſun, which happened upon the murder of Julius Caeſar by Brutus and Caſſius; which is greatly taken notice of by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors. See Virgil's Georgicks, Book I. juſt before the end; and Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. B. II. ch. xxx.

were proper for their purpoſe, and, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very ſea, and where the paſſage was open only through a ſingle gate. [redacted]s victory we gained, becauſe the gods had condemned theſe men for their wicked enterpriſes. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was ſhut up by us, and became a partaker of the ſame perdition with Caſſius; and now theſe have received their puniſhment we ſuppoſe, that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Aſia may be at reſt from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates alſo, inſomuch that the body of Aſia is now recovered out of that diſtemper it was under by the means of our victory. I, therefore, bearing in mind both thee, and your nation, ſhall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have alſo ſent epiſtles in writing to the ſeveral cities, that if any perſons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been ſold under the ſpear by Caius Caſſius, or his ſubordinate officers, they may be ſet free. And I will that you kindly make uſe of the favours which I and Dolabella have granted you. I alſo forbid the Tyrians to uſe any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now poſſeſs, I order them to reſtore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou ſenteſt me."

4. "Marcus Antonius imperator, to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Tyre, ſendeth greeting: The ambaſſadors of Hyrcanus the high prieſt and ethnarch [of the Jews,] appeared before me at Epheſus and told me that you are in poſſeſſion of part of their country which you entered upon under the government of our adverſaries. Since, therefore we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and juſtice, and have brought to puniſhment thoſe that had neither any remembrance of the kindneſſes they had received nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with thoſe that are our confederates; as alſo that what you have taken by the means of our adverſaries ſhall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to thoſe from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the ſenate, but they ſeized them by force, and beſtowed them by violence upon ſuch as become uſeful to them in their unjuſt proceedings. Since, therefore, thoſe men have received the puniſhment due to them, we deſire that our confederates may retain whatſoever it was that they formerly poſſeſſed without diſturbance, and that you reſtore all the places which belong to Hyrcanus the ethnarch of the Jews which you have had, tho' it were but one day before Caius Caſſius began an unjuſtifiable war againſt us, and entered into our province; nor do you uſe any force againſt him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to diſpoſe of that which is his own, but if you have any conteſt with him about your reſpective rights, it

shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned for we shall alike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes of our confederates."

5. "Marcus Antonius imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre sendeth greeting: I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places that it may be read by all." Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumverate over the public affairs, made this declaration: "Since Caius Cassius in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determination what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions let them be released the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such an one be caught, I will take care that the offenders suffer condign punishment."

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Aradians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

CHAP. XIII.

How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus Tetrarchs, after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus captives. Herod's flight; and what afflictions Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.

§ 1. WHEN after this Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also an hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was * Her-

* We may here take notice, that *espousals* alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for *affinity*, Hyrcanus being here called *father-in-law* to Herod, because his grand-daughter Mariamne was betrothed to him, although the marriage were not completed till four years afterward. See Matt. i. 16.

od's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both ſides at Daphne, he aſked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation beſt? He replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reaſon of the old hoſpitable friendſhip he had made with his father [Antipater], at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phaſaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpoſe. He alſo bound fifteen of their adverſaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not theſe men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thouſand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him, and ſo he gave order to the governor of the place to puniſh the Jewiſh ambaſſadors, who were for making innovations, and to ſettle the government upon Herod: But Herod went out haſtily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him (for they ſtood upon the ſhore before the city), and he charged them to go their ways, becauſe great miſchief would befal them if they went on with their accuſation. But they did not acquieſce: Whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and ſlew ſome, and wounded more of them, and the reſt fled away, and went home, and lay ſtill in great conſternation: And when the people made a clamour againſt Herod, Antony was ſo provoked at it that he ſlew the priſoners.

3. Now, in the ſecond year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's ſon, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, poſſeſſed themſelves of Syria. Ptolemy, the ſon of Menneus, alſo was now dead, and Lyſanias his ſon took his government, and made a league of friendſhip with Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus; and in order to obtain it, made uſe of that commander who had great intereſt in him. Now Antigonus had promiſed to give the Parthians a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and beſtow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promiſed, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maratime parts, but the commander Barzapharnes, through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians, and thoſe of Ptolemais, received him. However, Pacorus ſent a troop of horſemen into Judea, to take a view of the ſtate of the country, and to aſſiſt Antigonus; and ſent alſo the king's butler, of the ſame name with himſelf. So when the Jews that dwelt about mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get ſome part of the country by their aſſiſtance. The place is called

Drymi; and when ſome other came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jeruſalem; and when ſome more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and came againſt the king's palace, and beſieged it. But as Phaſaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's aſſiſtance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and purſued them into the temple, and ſent ſome armed men into the adjoining houſes, to keep them in, who yet being deſtitute of ſuch as ſhould ſupport them, were burnt, and the houſes with them, by the people who roſe up againſt them. But Herod was revenged on theſe ſeditious adverſaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and ſlew a great number of them.

4. But while there were daily ſkirmiſhes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Penteco ſt, a feaſt of ours ſo called: And when that day was come, many ten thouſands of the people were gathered together about the temple, ſome in armour, and ſome without. Now thoſe that came, guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his ſoldiers; and Phaſaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, ſallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the ſuburbs, and fought courageouſly, and put many ten thouſands to flight, ſome flying into the city, and ſome into the temple, and ſome into the outer fortifications, for ſome ſuch fortifications there were in that place. Phaſaelus came alſo to his aſſiſtance; yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the deſire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horſemen, under pretence indeed as if he would ſtill the ſedition, but in reality to aſſiſt Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phaſaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus perſuaded him to go himſelf as ambaſſador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phaſaelus, ſuſpecting no harm, complied with his propoſal, while Herod did not give his conſent to what was done, becauſe of the perfidiouſneſs of theſe Barbarians, but deſired Phaſaelus rather to fight thoſe that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phaſaelus went on the embaſſage; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horſemen, and ten men, who were called, *The freemen*; and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzapharnes alſo received them at the firſt with cheerfulneſs, and made them preſents, though he afterward conſpired againſt them; and Phaſaelus, with his horſemen, were conducted to the ſea ſide: But when they heard that Antigonus had promiſed to give the Parthians a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, to aſſiſt him, againſt them, they ſoon had a ſuſpicion of the Barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed

them that ſnares were laid for them by night, while a guard came ſecretly, and they had then been ſeized upon, had not they waited for the ſeizure of Herod by the Parthians, that were about Jeruſalem. leſt, upon the ſlaughter of Hyrcanus and Phaſaelus, he ſhould have an intimation of it, and eſcape out of their hands. And theſe were the circumſtances they were now in; and they ſaw who they were that guarded them. Some perſons indeed would have perſuaded Phaſaelus to fly away immediately on horſeback, and not ſtay any longer; and there was one Ophellius who, above all the reſt, was earneſt with him to do ſo, for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richeſt of all the Syrians at that time, who alſo promiſed ſo provide him ſhips to carry him off; for the ſea was juſt by them: But he had no mind to deſert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him, he did not act juſtly when he made ſuch a contrivance againſt them, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and beſides, that it was an horrible thing to ſlay thoſe that came to him upon the ſecurity of their oaths, and that when they had done them no injury. But the Barbarians ſwore to him, that there was no truth in any of his ſuſpicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but falſe propoſals, and then went away to Pacorus.

6. But as ſoon as he was gone away, ſome men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phaſaelus, while Phaſaelus, greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butler who was ſent againſt Herod had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and ſeize upon him; but meſſengers had been ſent by Phaſaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiouſneſs of the Parthians: And when he knew that the enemy had ſeized upon them, he went to Pacorus, and to the moſt potent of the Parthians, as to the lords of the reſt, who, although they knew the whole matter, diſſembled with him in a deceitful way; and ſaid, "That he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet thoſe which were bringing him his letters, for that they were not taken by his adverſaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good ſucceſs Phaſaelus had had." Herod did not give credit to what they ſaid; for he had heard that his brother was ſeized upon by others alſo: And the daughter of Hyrcanus, whoſe daughter he had eſpouſed, was his monitor alſo [not to credit them,] which made him ſtill more ſuſpicious of the Parthians, for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her, as a woman of very great wiſdom.

7. Now while the Parthians were in conſultation what was fit to be done; for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a perſon of his character; and while they put off the determination to the next day, Herod was under great diſturbance of mind, and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to

give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined, that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him: And set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother, and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, [Mariamne] the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies privity pursued his way to Idumea: Nor could any enemy of his, who then saw him in this case be so hard hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears, in their eyes and said lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

8. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and, as he passed along, he bid them every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed, and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit; but as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number were too hard for him; and told them, that he ought to desert them and leave them a pray to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone; partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him, and pursued him he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by that time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom they also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress, and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had

what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews it was that he ſome time afterward built a moſt excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it *Herodium*. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called *Threſſa*, his brother Joſeph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumſtances, ſince he had a great multitude that followed him, beſides his mercenary ſoldiers, and the place Maſada, whither he propoſed to fly, was too ſmall to contain ſo great a multitude; ſo he ſent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thouſand, and bid them go, ſome one way, and ſome another, and ſo ſave themſelves in Idumea, and gave them what would buy them proviſions in their journey; but he took with him thoſe that were leaſt incumbered, and were moſt intimate with him, and came to the fortreſs, and placed there his wives, and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a ſufficient quantity of corn and water, and other neceſſaries, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jeruſalem, and the palace, and abſtained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money eſcaped, and principally all that the man had been ſo provident as to ſend into Idumea before-hand: Nor indeed did what was in the city ſuffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demoliſhed the city Mariſſa.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea, by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phaſaelus for his priſoners; but he was greatly caſt down becauſe the women had eſcaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promiſed they ſhould have them, with the money, for their reward: But being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom reſtored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high prieſthood ſhould never come to him any more, becauſe he was maimed, while the * law required that this dignity ſhould belong to none but ſuch as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phaſaelus, who perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a moſt pitiable and diſhonourable thing, and therefore, ſince he had not his hands at liberty, but the bonds he was in, prevented him from killing himſelf thereby, he daſhed his head againſt a great ſtone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the beſt thing he could do in ſuch a diſtreſs as

* This law of Moſes, that the prieſts were to be *without blemiſh*, as to all the parts of their bodies, is in Levit. xxi. 17,—24.

he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent Physicians to cure it, and by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

CHAP. XIV.

How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went in haste also to Rome; and how, by promising a great deal of Money to Antony, he obtained of the Senate, and of Cæsar to be made King of the Jews.

§ 1. AS for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him, for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hand of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age for this very reason that he might be an hostage for the repayment of the money: But there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretence, which he made use of that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him; and this he was farther induced to, by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coming thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

2. Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple, for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhinocolura, and there it was that he heard what was befallen his brother. Though Malchus soon repented of what he had done, and came run-

ning after Herod, but with no manner of ſucceſs, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haſte into the road to Peluſium; and when the ſtationary ſhips that lay there hindered him from ſailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whoſe aſſiſtance, and that out of much reverence of and great regard to him, he was conducted into the city [Alexandria,] and was retained there by Cleopatra, yet was ſhe not able to prevail with him to ſtay there, becauſe he was making haſte to Rome, even though the weather was ſtormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy was very tumultuous, and in great diſorder.

3. So he ſet ſail from thence to Pamphylia, and falling into a violent ſtorm, he had much ado to eſcape to Rhodes, with the loſs of the ſhip's burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemeus met with him: And as he found that city very much damaged in the war againſt Caſſius, though he were in neceſſity himſelf, he neglected not to do it a kindneſs, but did what he could to recover it to its former ſtate. He alſo built there a three decked ſhip, and ſet ſail thence, with his friends, for Italy, and came to the port of Brunduſium: And when he was come from thence to Rome, he firſt related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phaſaelus his brother was ſeized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them, and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promiſed them a ſum of money, no leſs than a thouſand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewiſh ſtock, and that he had carried off the women by night, and that, by undergoing a great many hardſhips, he had eſcaped the hands of his enemies; as alſo, that his own relations were in danger of being beſieged and taken, and that he had ſailed thro' a ſtorm, and contemned all theſe terrible dangers of it, in order to come, as ſoon as poſſible, to him, who was his hope and only ſuccour at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiſſerate * the change that had happened in Herod's condition; and reaſoning with himſelf that this was a common caſe among thoſe that are placed in ſuch great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the aſſiſtance he deſired, and this becauſe he called to mind the friendſhip he had had with Antipater, becauſe Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly becauſe of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a ſeditious perſon, and an enemy to the Romans. Ceſar was alſo the forwarder

* Concerning the chronology of Herod, and the time when he was firſt made king at Rome, and concerning the time when he began his ſecond reign, without a rival, upon the conqueſt and ſlaughter of Antigonus, both principally derived from this and the two next chapters in Joſephus, ſee the note on § 6. and ch. xv. § 10.

to raiſe Herod's dignity, and to give him his aſſiſtance in what he deſired, on account of the toils of war which he had himſelf undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hoſpitality he had treated him withal, and the kindneſs he had always ſhewed him, as alſo to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a ſenate was convocated; and Meſſala firſt, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the good will he had borne to the Romans. At the ſame time, they accuſed Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only becauſe of his former oppoſition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the ſenate was irritated; and Antony informed them farther, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod ſhould be king. This ſeemed good to all the ſenators; and ſo they made a decree accordingly.

5. And this was the principal inſtance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, (for he did not come with an intention to aſk the kingdom for himſelf, which he did not ſuppoſe the Romans would grant him, who uſed to beſtow it on ſome of the royal family, but intended to deſire it for his wife's brother, who was grandſon by his father to Ariſtobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother), but that he procured it for him ſo ſuddenly that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in ſo few days as ſeven in all. This young man [the grandſon] Herod afterward took care to have ſlain, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place. But when the ſenate was diſſolved, Antony and Ceſar went out of the ſenate houſe, with Herod between them, and with the conſuls and other magiſtrates before them, in order to offer ſacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony alſo feaſted Herod the firſt day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was conſul the ſecond time, and Caius Aſinius Pollio [the firſt time].

6. All this while Antigonus beſieged thoſe that were in Maſſada, who had plenty of all other neceſſaries, but were only in want * of water, inſomuch that on this occaſion Joſephus, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependants, to the Arabians; for he had heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod; but God, by ſending rain in the night time, prevented his going away, for their ciſterns were thereby filled, and he was under no neceſſity of running away on that account: But they were now of good courage, and

* This grievous want of water at Maſſada, till the place had like to have been taken by the Parthians, mentioned both here, and Of the War, B. I. ch. xv. § 2. vol. III. is an indication that it was now ſummer time.

the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of seemed a mark of divine providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers, with some openly, with some privately, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time, Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, in pretence indeed to succour Joseph, but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and wiped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but that the wickedness he had been guilty of might not be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers, with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

CHAP. XV.

How Herod Sailed out of Italy to Judea, and Fought with Antigonus; and what other things happened in Judea about that time.

§ 1. BY this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was in Judea indeed, but corrupted by Antigonus. However as Herod went along his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him; but as he was marching to those that were at Massada, for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were in that fortress, now they were besieged, because they were his relations; Joppa was an hindrance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies hands behind him when he should go to Jerusalem: And when Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Massada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his fa-

ther, and ſome becauſe of the ſplendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them, but the greateſt number came to him in hopes of getting ſomewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly ſettled in the kingdom.

2. Herod had now a ſtrong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid ſnares and ambuſhes in the paſſes and places moſt proper for them, but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy: So Herod received thoſe of his family out of Maſſada, and the fortreſs Reſſa, and then went on for Jeruſalem. The ſoldiery alſo that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens, being afraid of his power: And as ſoon as he had pitched his camp on the weſt ſide of the city, the ſoldiers that were ſet to guard that part ſhot their arrows, and threw their darts at him; and when ſome ſallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the firſt ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they ſhould, in the firſt place, make proclamation about the wall, That "he came for the good of the people, and for the preſervation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his moſt open enemies, but ready to forget the offences which his greateſt adverſaries had done him." But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had cauſed to be proclaimed, and this before the Romans, and before Silo alſo, ſaid, That "they would not do juſtly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, i. e. *an half Jew, whereas they ought to beſtow it on one of the royal family, as their cuſtom was; for, that in caſe they at preſent bear an ill-will to him, and had reſolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many others of his family that might by their law take it, and theſe ſuch as had no way offended the Romans, and being of the ſacredotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by." Now, while they ſaid thus, one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both ſides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themſelves, who uſing their bows, and ſhowing great alacrity againſt their enemies, eaſily drove them away from the towers.

3. And now it was that Silo diſcovered that he had taken bribes: For he ſet a good number of his ſoldiers to complain aloud of want of proviſions they were in, and to require money to buy them food, and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, ſince the places near the

* This affirmation of Antigonus's ſpoken in the days of Herod, and in a manner to his face, that he was an *Idumean*, i. e. an *half Jew*, ſeems to me of much greater authority than that pretence of his favourite and flatterer Nicolaus of Damaſcus, that he derived his pedigree from Jews as far backward as the Babyloniſh captivity, ch. i. § 3. Accordingly Joſephus always eſteems him an Idumean, though he ſays his father Antipater was of the ſame people with the Jews, ch. viii. § 1. and by birth a Jew, Antiq. B. *XX.* ch. viii. § 7 as indeed all ſuch proſelytes of juſtice as the Idumeans were in time eſteemed the very ſame people with the Jews.

city were a deſert, by reaſon that Antigonus's ſoldiers had carried all away; ſo he ſet the army upon removing, and endeavoured to march away: But Herod preſſed Silo not to depart; and exhorted Silo's captains and ſoldiers not to deſert him, when Cæſar and Antony, and the ſenate, had ſent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and eaſily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which intreaty, he immediately went out into the country, and left not the leaſt pretence to Silo for his departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of proviſions, and ſent to thoſe friends of his who inhabited about Samaria, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other proviſions, to Jericho, that there might be no want of a ſupply for the ſoldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was ſenſible of this, and ſent preſently over the country ſuch as might reſtrain and lie in ambuſh for thoſe that went out for proviſions. So theſe men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and ſat upon the mountains, and watched thoſe that brought the proviſions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time, for he took ten bands of ſoldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with ſome mercenaries among them, and with ſome few horſemen, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deſerted, but that five hundred of them had ſettled themſelves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, thoſe he took and ſent away; but the Romans fell upon the city, and plundered it, and found the houſes full of all ſorts of good things. So the king left a garriſon at Jericho, and came back again, and ſent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea and Galilee, and Samaria. And ſo much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army ſhould be quartered at Lidda, in order to pleaſe Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aſide, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleaſed with lying ſtill, but ſent out his brother Joſeph againſt Idumea with two thouſand armed footmen, and four hundred horſemen, while he himſelf came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Maſada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garriſons of Antigonus; and he paſſed on to Sepphoris, as God ſent a ſnow, while Antigonus's garriſons withdrew themſelves, and had great plenty of proviſions. He alſo went thence, and reſolved to deſtroy thoſe robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much miſchief in the country; ſo he ſent a troop of horſemen, and three companies of armed footmen againſt them. They were very near to a village called *Arbela*; and on the fortieth day after he came himſelf, with his whole army: And as the enemy ſallied out boldly upon him the left wing of his

army gave way, but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmæ apiece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters: At which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine: But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandrium also. Accordingly he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod in the first place to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates, for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains that were exceedingly abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the King caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down bound about with iron chains, by an engine from the top of the mountain, it being not possible to get up to them by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so doing; but the letting of the chests down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves: But when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armour, and by both their hands took hold of the chain by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that

were in the mouths with their darts, and afterwards pulled thoſe to them that reſiſted them with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves, and killed many more, and then went into their cheſts again, and lay ſtill there; but upon this, terror ſeized the reſt, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they deſpaired of eſcaping: However, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by an herald to ſuch as delivered themſelves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The ſame method of aſſault was made uſe of the next day; and they went farther, and got out in baſkets, to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and ſent fire among them, and ſet their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of combuſtible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of theſe caves with ſeven children and a wife; theſe prayed them to give them leave to go out, and yield themſelves up to the enemy, but he ſtood at the cave's mouth, and always ſlew that child of his who went out, till he had deſtroyed them every one, and after that he ſlew his wife, and caſt their dead bodies down the precipice, and himſelf after them, and ſo underwent death rather than ſlavery: But before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanneſs of his family, although he was then king. Herod alſo ſaw what he was doing, and ſtretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of ſecurity for his life: By which means all theſe caves were at length ſubdued entirely.

6. And when the king had ſet Ptolemy over theſe parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with ſix hundred horſemen, and three thouſand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But ſtill this command of the army did not ſucceed well with Ptolemy, but thoſe that had been troubleſome to Galilee before attacked him, and ſlew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almoſt inacceſſible, laying waſte and plundering whatſoever they could come at in thoſe places. But Herod ſoon returned, and puniſhed them for what they had done; for ſome of theſe rebels he ſlew, and others of them, who had fled to the ſtrong holds, he beſieged, and both ſlew them, and demoliſhed their ſtrong holds: And when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of an hundred talents.

7. In the mean time Pacorus was ſlain in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated, when Ventidius ſent Macherus to the aſſiſtance of Herod, with two legions, and a thouſand horſemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haſte. But Macherus, at the inſtigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs: But Antigonus ſuſpecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but

kept him at a diſtance, with throwing ſtones at him, and plainly ſhewed what he himſelf meant. But when Macherus was ſenſible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a miſtake himſelf in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he ſlew them, whether they were enemies, or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardſhips he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and reſolved to go to Antony about theſe affairs, and to inform him that he ſtood in no need of ſuch helpers, who did him more miſchief than they did his enemies, and that he was able of himſelf to beat Antigonus; but Macherus followed him, and deſired that he would not go, to Antony, or, if he was reſolved to go, that he would join his brother Joſeph with them, and let them fight againſt Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macherus, upon his earneſt entreaties. Accordingly he left Joſeph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macherus.

8. But for his own part, he made haſte to Antony, (who was then at the ſiege of Samoſata, a place upon Euphrates) with his troops, both horſemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him: And when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together that were very deſirous to go to Antony, but durſt not venture to go out of fear, becauſe the Barbarians fell upon men on the road, and ſlew many, ſo he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days march of Samoſata, the Barbarians had laid an ambuſh there to diſturb thoſe that came to Antony, and where the woods made the paſſes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horſemen, who were to lie ſtill until thoſe paſſengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as ſoon as the firſt ranks were gone by, (for Herod brought on the rear,) thoſe that lay in ambuſh, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the ſudden, and when they had put the foremoſt to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, inſomuch that thoſe who ran away before, now returned back, and the barbarians were ſlain on all ſides. The king alſo went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage, among which were a great number of beaſts for burden, and of ſlaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a very great number of thoſe in the woods that attacked them, and were near the paſſage that led into the plain, he made a ſally upon theſe alſo with a ſtrong body of men; and put them to flight, and ſlew many of them, and thereby rendered the way ſafe for thoſe that came after; and theſe called Herod their ſavour and protector.

9. And when it was near to Samoſata, Antony ſent out his

army in all their proper habiliments to meet him, in order to pay Herod this reſpect, and becauſe of the aſſiſtance he had given him, for he had heard what attacks the Barbarians had made upon him [in Judea.] He alſo was very glad to ſee him there, as having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road: So he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony alſo embraced him as ſoon as he ſaw him, and ſaluted him after a moſt affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himſelf lately made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortreſs, and on that account this war was at an end; then Antony committed the reſt to Soſius, and gave him orders to aſſiſt Herod, and went himſelf to Egypt. Accordingly Soſius ſent two legions before into Judea to the aſſiſtance of Herod, and he followed himſelf with the body of the army.

10. Now Joſeph was already ſlain in Judea, in the manner following: He forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, for Macherus had lent him five regiments, with theſe he went haſtily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging; and as the Roman Regiments were but newly raiſed, and were unſkilful in war, for they were in great part collected out of Syria he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in thoſe places of difficulty, and was himſelf ſlain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was loſt, for there were ſix regiments ſlain. So when Antigonus had got poſſeſſion of the dead bodies, he cut off Joſeph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took thoſe of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become ſeditious; but Macherus fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria.]

11. At this time meſſengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain viſions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreſhewed his brother's death. So he haſtened his march; and when he came to mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him alſo one Roman legion, and with theſe he came to Ptolemais. He alſo marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and ſhut up in the ſame place of ſtrength whence they had ſallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in them orning, but by reaſon of a great ſtorm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; yet as ſoon as the other

legion that Antony ſent him was come to his aſſiſtance, thoſe that were in garriſon in the place were afraid, and deſerted it in the night time. Then did the king march haſtily to Jericho, intending to avenge himſelf on the enemy for the ſlaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feaſt for the principal commanders, and after this collation was over, and he had diſmiſſed his gueſts, he retired to his own chamber: And here may one ſee what kindneſs God had for the King, for the upper part of the houſe fell down when no body was in it, and ſo killed none, inſomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, ſince he had eſcaped ſuch a great and ſurpriſing danger.

12. But the next day ſix thouſand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the ſoldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the King's guards that were come out with darts and ſtones, and one of them hit him on the ſide with a dart. Antigonus alſo ſent a commander againſt Samaria, whoſe name was *Pappus*, with ſome forces, being deſirous to ſhew the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to ſpare in his war with them: He ſat down to oppoſe Macherus; but Herod when he had taken five cities, took ſuch as were left in them, being about two thouſand, and ſlew them, and burnt the cities themſelves, and then returned to go againſt Pappus, who was encamped at a village called *Iſanas*: And there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, ſo ſtout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the ſlaughter of his brother, he purſued them ſharply, and killed them as they ran away: * And as the houſes were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houſes, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houſes, and ſaw the lower rooms full of ſoldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap; ſo they threw ſtones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them: Nor was there a more frightful ſpectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immenſe multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly brake the ſpirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come, for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far diſtant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which

* It may be worth our obſervation here, that theſe ſoldiers of Herod could not have gotten upon the tops of thele houſes which were full of enemies, in order to pull up the upper floors, and deſtroy them beneath, but by ladders from the outſide; which illuſtrates ſome texts in the New Teſtament, by which it appears that men uſed to aſcend thither by ladders on the outſides. See Matt. xxiv. 17. Mark xiii. 15. Luke v. 19. xvii. 31.

then reſtrained them, the King's army had preſently gone to Jeruſalem, as being very courageous at this good ſucceſs, and the whole work had been done immediately, for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away, and leave the city.

13. At this time the King gave order that the ſoldiers ſhould go to ſupper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to uſe the bath, for he was very weary: And here it was that he was in the greateſt danger, which yet by God's providence, he eſcaped; for as he was naked, and had but one ſervant that followed him to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled thither out of fear, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the firſt of them came out with his naked ſword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a ſecond and a third, armed in like manner, and were under ſuch a conſternation that they did no hurt to the King, and thought themſelves to have come off very well in ſuffering no harm themſelves in their getting out of the houſe. However, on the next day he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already ſlain, and ſent it to Pheroras, as a puniſhment of what their brother had ſuffered by his means, for he was the man that ſlew him with his own hand.

14. When the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army and came near to Jeruſalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year ſince he had been made King at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be moſt eaſily aſſaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the ſame manner as did Pompey, ſo he encompaſſed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the works, and cut down the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper perſons to overſee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himſelf went to Samaria to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

CHAP. XVI.

How Herod, when he had married Mariamne, took Jeruſalem, with the aſſiſtance of Soſius, by force; and how the Government of the Aſamoneans was put an end to.

§ 1. AFTER the wedding was over, came Soſius through Phenicia, having ſent out his army before him over the midland parts. He alſo, who was their commander, came himſelf, with a great number of horſemen and footmen,

The king alſo came himſelf from Samaria, and brought with him no ſmall army, beſides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thouſand; and they all met together at the walls of Jeruſalem. and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and ſix thouſand horſemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two, Soſius, ſent by Antony to aſſiſt Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared an enemy at Rome, and that he might himſelf be king, according to the decree of the ſenate.

2. Now the Jews that were incloſed within the walls of the city fought againſt Herod with great alacrity and zeal, (for the whole nation was gathered together); they alſo gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in; had alſo carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford ſuſtenance either for men or for beaſts; and by private robberies, they made the want of neceſſaries greater. When Herod underſtood this, he oppoſed ambuſhes in the fitteſt places againſt their private robberies, and he ſent legions of armed men to bring in proviſions, and that from remote places, ſo that in a little time they had great plenty of proviſions. Now the three bulwarks were eaſily erected, becauſe ſo many hands were continually at work upon it; for it was ſummer time, and there was nothing to hinder them in raiſing their works, neither from the air, nor from the workmen: So they brought their engines to bear, and ſhook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in; yet did not thoſe within diſcover any fear, but they alſo contrived not a few engines to oppoſe their engines withal. They alſo ſallied out, and burnt not only thoſe engines that were not yet perfected, but thoſe that were; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not leſs bold than thoſe of the Romans, though they were behind them in ſkill. They alſo erected new works when the former were ruined, and making mines under ground, they met each other, and fought there, and making uſe of brutiſh courage rather than of prudent valour, they perſiſted in this war to the very laſt: And this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were diſtreſſed by famine, and the want of neceſſaries, for this happened to be a ſabbatic year. The firſt that ſcaled the walls were twenty choſen men, the next were Soſius's centurions, for the firſt wall was taken in forty days, and the ſecond in fifteen more, when ſome of the cloiſters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expoſe him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the up-

per city; but now fearing leſt the Romans ſhould hinder them from offering their daily ſacrifices to God, they ſent an embaſſage, and deſired that they would only permit them to bring in beaſts for ſacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield, but when he ſaw that they did nothing of what he ſuppoſed, but bitterly oppoſed him, in order to preſerve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an aſſault upon the city and took it by ſtorm; and now all parts were full of thoſe that were ſlain, by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the ſiege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's ſide, who were not willing to leave one of their adverſaries alive; ſo they were murdered continually in the narrow ſtreets, and in the houſes by crouds, and as they were flying to the temple for ſhelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they ſpare ſo much as the weaker ſex; nay, although the king ſent about, and beſought them to ſpare the people, yet nobody reſtrained their hand from ſlaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon perſons of all ages, without diſtinction; and then Antigonus, witout regard to either his paſt or preſent circumſtances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Soſius, who took no pity of him, in the change of his fortune, but inſulted him beyond meaſure, and called him *Antigone*, [*i. e.* a woman, and not a man;] yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds, and kept him in cloſe cuſtody.

3. And now Herod having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern thoſe foreigners who had been his aſſiſtants, for the croud of ſtrangers ruſhed to ſee the temple, and the ſacred things in the temple; but the king thinking a victory to be a more ſevere affliction than a defeat, if any of thoſe things which it was not lawful to ſee ſhould be ſeen by them, uſed entreaties and threatnings, and even ſometimes force itſelf, to reſtrain them. He alſo prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and many times aſked Soſius, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and of men, and leave him king of a deſart? and told him, that he eſteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent ſatisfaction for ſuch a murder of his citizens: And when he ſaid, that this plunder was juſtly to be permitted the ſoldiers, for the ſiege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money, and by this means he redeemed what remained of the city from deſtruction, and he performed what he had promiſed him, for he gave a noble preſent to every ſoldier, and a proportionable preſent to their commanders, but a moſt royal preſent to Soſius himſelf, till they all went away full of money.

4. This * deſtruction befel the city of Jeruſalem when Mar-

* Note here, that Joſephus fully and frequently aſſures us that there paſſed above three years between Herod's firſt obtaining the kingdom at Rome, and his ta-

tus Agrippa, and Caninius Gallus were conſuls of Rome, on the hundred eighty and fifth olympiad, on the third month, on the ſolemnity of the faſt, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned, ſince that which befel the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by him on the ſame day, and this was after twenty-ſeven years time. So when Soſius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jeruſalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod was afraid leſt Antigonus ſhould be kept in priſon [only] by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him he might get his cauſe to be heard by the ſenate, and might demonſtrate, as he was himſelf of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his ſons however to have the kingdom on account of the family they were of, in caſe he had himſelf offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money endeavoured to perſuade him to have Antigonus ſlain, which if it were once done, he ſhould be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Aſamoneans ceaſe, an hundred twenty and ſix years after it was firſt ſet up. This family was a ſplendid and an illuſtrious one, both on account of the nobility of their ſtock, and of the dignity of the high prieſthood, as alſo for the glorious actions their anceſtors had performed for our nation: But theſe men loſt the government by their diſſentions one with another, and it came to Herod the ſon of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was ſubject to other kings: And this is what hiſtory tells us was the end of the Aſamonean family.

cond obtaining it upon the taking of Jeruſalem, and death of Antigonus. The preſent hiſtory of this interval twice mentions the army's going into winter quarters, which perhaps belonged to two ſeveral winters, ch. xv. § 3, 4. and though Joſephus ſays nothing how long they lay in thoſe quarters, yet does he give ſuch an account of the long and ſtudied delays of Ventidius Silo, and Macheras, who were to ſee Herod ſettled in his new kingdom, (but ſeem not to have had ſufficient forces for that purpoſe, and were for certain all corrupted by Antigonus to make the longeſt delays poſſible, and give us ſuch particular accounts of the many great actions of Herod's during the ſame interval, as fairly imply that interval, before Herod went to Samoſata, to have been very conſiderable. However what is wanting in Joſephus, is fully ſupplied by Moſes Chorenenſis, the Armenian hiſtorian, in his hiſtory of that interval, B. II. ch. xviii. where he directly aſſures us, that Tigranes, then king of Armenia, and the principal manager of this Parthian war, reigned two years after Herod was made king at Rome, and yet Antony did not hear of his death, in that very nighbourhood, at Samoſata, till he was come thither to beſiege it: After which Herod brought him an army, which was 340 miles march, and through a difficult country full of enemies alſo, and joined with him in the ſiege of Samoſata till that city was taken; then Herod and Soſius march back with their large armies the ſame number of 340 miles, and when in a little time, they ſat down to beſiege Jeruſalem, they were not able to take it but by a ſiege of five months. All which put together, fully ſupplies what is wanting in Joſephus, and ſecures the entire chronology of theſe times beyond contradiction.

BOOK XV.

Containing the interval of eighteen years.

[*From the Death of* ANTIGONUS *to the finishing of the Temple by* HEROD.]

CHAP. I.

Concerning Pollio and Sameas. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus's Friends, and spoils the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus.

§ 1. HOW Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies: But Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest, for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited; but this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by these means, he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them, and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow our land in that year. Now when Antony

had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him againſt his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew ſeditious, and that out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good will to Antigonus, he reſolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwiſe the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia atteſts to what I have ſaid, when he thus ſpeaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded; and this Antony ſeems to me to have been the very firſt man who beheaded a king, as ſuppoſing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews, ſo as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his ſtead, for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, ſo great a fondneſs they had for their former king; ſo he thought that this diſhonourable death would diminiſh the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the ſame time would diminiſh their hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

CHAP. II.

How Hyrcanus was ſet at Liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod; and what Alexandra did when ſhe heard that Ananelus was made High Prieſt.

§ 1. NOW after Herod was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high prieſt, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was ſet free from his captivity, in the manner following: Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was firſt made high prieſt and afterward king, and Herod's brother, Phaſaelus, captives, and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phaſaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds, and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatſoever, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illuſtrious family he was; on which account he ſet him free from his bonds, and gave him an habitation at * Babylon, where there was Jews in great numbers. Theſe Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high prieſt, and king; as did all the Jewiſh nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates; which reſpect was very much to his ſatisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new

* The city here called *Babylon* by Joſephus, ſeems to be one which was built by ſome of the Seleucidae upon the Tigris, which long after the utter deſolation of old Babylon, was commonly ſo called, and I ſuppoſe not far from Seleucia; juſt as the later adjoining city Bagdat has been, and is often called by the ſame old name of Babylon till this very day.

hopes came upon him, as having been himſelf, ſtill of a kind diſpoſition towards him; and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital ſentence would be pronounced againſt him, he delivered him from that danger. and from all puniſhment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and deſired that he would ſtay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that thoſe honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high prieſts or their kings; and what was a greater motive to determine him, they ſaid was this, that he could not have thoſe dignities [in Judea] becauſe of that maim in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do not uſe to requite men for thoſe kindneſſes which they received when they were private perſons, the height of their fortune making uſually no ſmall changes in them.

3. Now although they ſuggeſted theſe arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus ſtill deſire to depart. Herod alſo wrote to him, and perſuaded him to deſire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they ſhould not grudge him the royal authority, which he ſhould have jointly with himſelf, for that now was the proper time for himſelf to make him amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and ſaved by him alſo, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, ſo did he ſend alſo Saramallas, his ambaſſador, to Phraates, and many preſents with him, and deſired him in the moſt obliging way, that he would be no hindrance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle, but becauſe he had been made governor of that country without having any juſt claim to it; he was afraid, and that upon reaſons good enough, of a change in his condition, and ſo made what haſte he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way: Which laſt thing he compaſſed afterward.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of aſſurance, by the permiſſion of the king of Parthia, and at the expence of the Jews who ſupplied him with money, Herod received him with all poſſible reſpect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and ſet him above all the reſt at feaſts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father; and endeavoured, by all the ways poſſible, that he might have no ſuſpicion of any treacherous deſign againſt him. He alſo did other things, in order to ſecure his government, which yet occaſioned a ſedition in his own family; for being cautious how

he made any * illuſtrious perſon the high-prieſt of God, he ſent for an obſcure prieſt out of Babylon, whoſe name was Ananelus, and beſtowed the high prieſthood upon him.

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus the king, who had alſo brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this ſon was one of the greateſt comelineſs, and was called Ariſtobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty alſo. This Alexandra was much diſturbed, and took this indignity offered to her ſon exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one elſe ſhould be ſent for to have the dignity of the high prieſthood conferred upon him. Accordingly ſhe wrote to Cleopatra (a muſician aſſiſting her in taking care to have her letters carried), to deſire her interceſſion with Antony, in order to gain the high prieſthood for her ſon.

6. But as Antony was ſlow in granting this requeſt, his friend † Dellius came into Judea upon ſome affairs, and when he ſaw Ariſtobulus, he ſtood in admiration at the tallneſs and handſomeneſs of the child, and no leſs at Mariamne, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of moſt beautiful children: And when ſhe came to diſcourſe with him, he perſuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to ſend them to Antony, for that when he ſaw them, he would deny her nothing that ſhe ſhould aſk. Accordingly Alexandra was elevated with theſe words of his, and ſent the pictures to Antony. Dellius alſo talked extravagantly, and ſaid, That "theſe children ſeemed not derived from men, but from ſome god or other." His deſign in doing ſo was to entice Antony into lewd pleaſures with them, who was aſhamed to ſend for the damſel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, becauſe of the reproaches he ſhould have from Cleopatra on that account, but he ſent, in the moſt decent manner he could, for the young man; but added this withal, "Unleſs he thought it hard upon him ſo to do." When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it ſafe for him to ſend one ſo handſome as was Ariſtobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was ſixteen years of age, and of ſo noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among

* Here we have an eminent example of Herod's worldly and profane politics, when by the abuſe of his unlawful and uſurped power, to make whom he pleaſed high prieſt, in the perſon of Ananelus, he occaſioned ſuch diſturbances in his kingdom, and in his own family, as ſuffered him to enjoy no laſting peace or tranquility ever afterward: And ſuch is frequently the effect of profane court politics about matters of religion in other ages and nations. The Old Teſtament is full of the miſeries of the people of the Jews derived from ſuch court politics, eſpecially in and after the days of Jeroboam the ſon of Nebat, *who made Iſrael to ſin*; who gave the moſt pernicious example of it; who brought on the groſſeſt corruption of religion by it; and the puniſhment of whoſe family for it was moſt remarkable. The caſe is too well known to ſtand in need of particular citations.

† Of this wicked Dellius, ſee the note on the War, B. I. ch. xv. § 3. vol. III.

the Romans, and one that would abuſe him in his amours, and beſides, one that openly indulged himſelf in ſuch pleaſures, as his own power allowed him, without controul. He therefore wrote back to him, That "if this boy ſhould only go out of the country, all would be in a ſtate of war and uproar, becauſe the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them."

7. When Herod had thus excuſed himſelf to Antony, he reſolved that he would not entirely permit the child or Alexandra to be treated diſhonourably; But his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to reſtore the high prieſthood to her brother, and he judged it was for his advantage ſo to do, becauſe, if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called his friends together, and told them, That "Alexandra privately conſpired againſt his royal authority, and endeavoured, by the means of Cleopatra, ſo to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his ſtead; and that this procedure of hers was unjuſt, ſince ſhe would at the ſame time deprive her daughter of the dignity ſhe now had, and would bring diſturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards: That yet, while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himſelf, but would even now give the youth the high prieſthood; and that he formerly ſet up Ananelus, becauſe Ariſtobulus was then ſo very young a child." Now when he had ſaid this, not at random, but as he thought with the beſt diſcretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and thoſe friends whom he had taken to conſult withal, Alexandra, out of the great joy ſhe had at this unexpected promiſe, and out of fear from the ſuſpicions ſhe lay under, fell a weeping; and made the following apology for herſelf, and ſaid, That "as to the [high] prieſthood, ſhe was very much concerned for the diſgrace her ſon was under, and ſo did her utmoſt endeavours to procure it for him, but that as to the kingdom, ſhe had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her ſon,] ſhe would not accept it; and that now ſhe would be ſatisfied with her ſon's dignity, while he himſelf held the civil government, and ſhe had thereby the ſecurity that aroſe from his peculiar ability in governing, to all the remainder of her family: That ſhe was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of this honour ſhewed by him to her ſon. and that ſhe would hereafter be entirely obedient: And ſhe deſired him to excuſe her, if the nobility of her family, and that freedom of acting which ſhe thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter." So when they had ſpoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all ſuſpicions, ſo far as appeared, were vaniſhed away.

CHAP. III.

How Herod, upon his making Ariſtobulus High-prieſt, took care that he ſhould be murdered in a little time; and what apology he made to Antony about Ariſtobulus: As alſo concerning Joſeph and Mariamne.

§ 1. SO king Herod immediately took the high-prieſthood away from Ananelus, who, as we ſaid before, was not of this country, but one of thoſe Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates; for there were not a few ten thouſands of this people that had been carried captives, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came. He was one * of the ſtock of the high prieſts, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod's; and when he was firſt made king he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who firſt brake that law, and deprived Jeſus, and made his brother Onias high-prieſt in his ſtead. Ariſtobulus was the ſecond that did ſo, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus;] and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Ananelus,] and gave it to this young man, Ariſtobulus, in his ſtead.

2. And now Herod ſeemed to have healed the diviſions in his family; yet was he not without ſuſpicion, as is frequently the caſe of the people ſeeming to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, ſo did he fear that ſhe would go on therein, if ſhe found a fit opportunity for ſo doing; ſo he gave a command, that ſhe ſhould dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs: Her guards alſo were ſo careful, that nothing ſhe did in private life every day was concealed. All theſe hardſhips put her out of patience, by little and little, and ſhe began to hate Herod; for as ſhe had the pride of a woman to the utmoſt degree, ſhe had great indignation at this ſuſpi-

* When Joſephus ſays here, that this Ananelus, the new high prieſt, was *of the ſtock of the high prieſts*, and ſince he had been juſt telling us that he was a prieſt of an *obſcure* family or character, ch. ii. § 4. it is not at all probable that he could ſo ſoon ſay that he was *of the ſtock of the high prieſts*. However, Joſephus here makes a remarkable obſervation, that this Ananelus was the *third* that was ever unjuſtly and wickedly turned out of the high prieſthood by the civil power, no king or governor having ventured to do ſo to that Joſephus knew of, but that heathen tyrant and perſecutor Antiochus Epiphanes; that barbarous parricide Ariſtobulus, the firſt that took royal authority among the Maccabees; and this tyrant king Herod the Great, although afterward that infamous practice became frequent, till the very deſtruction of Jeruſalem, when the office of high prieſthood was at an end.

cious guard that was about her as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could befal her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror: She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had this contrivance for getting away: She got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants, as knew of her intentions to carry them away in the night time. Now their road was to be thence to the sea-side, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Æsop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabbion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabbion knew this, (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod's, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for, and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater,) he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness, so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra's: Whereupon he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact, but still he passed by her offence; and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him but made a shew as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way by one means or other; but he thought he might in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which at this time arose in him, cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and prove him to it: For when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he * performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from, and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared a-

* This entirely confutes the Talmudists, who pretend that no one under *twenty* years of age could officiate as high priest among the Jews.

mong the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Ariſtobulus was freſh in their minds; and their affections got ſo far the maſtery of them, that they could not forbear to ſhew their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced, and were confounded, and mingled with good wiſhes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident, and they more raſhly proclaimed the happineſs they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod reſolved to complete what he had intended againſt the young man. When therefore the feſtival was over, and he was feaſting at * Jericho with Alexandra, who entertained them there, he was then very pleaſant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the ſame time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; ſo they went out in a body, and of a ſudden, and in a vein of madneſs, and as they ſtood by the fiſh ponds, of which there were large ones about the houſe, they went to cool themſelves [by bathing,] becauſe it was in the midſt of an hot day. At firſt they were only ſpectators of Herod's ſervants and acquaintance as they were ſwimming, but after a while, the young man, at the inſtigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while ſuch of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipped him, as he was ſwimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in ſport only, nor did they deſiſt till he was entirely ſuffocated; and thus was Ariſtobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than † eighteen years, and kept the high prieſthood one year only: Which high prieſthood Ananelus now recovered again.

4. When this ſad accident was told the women, their joy was ſoon changed to lamentation, at the ſight of the dead body that lay before them, and their ſorrow was immoderate. The city alſo [of Jeruſalem] upon the ſpreading of this news, were in very great grief, every one looking on this calamity as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themſelves was ſlain; but Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been deſtroyed [on purpoſe]. Her ſorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed, but ſhe was under a neceſſity of bearing up under it, out of her proſpect of a greater miſchief that might otherwiſe follow: And ſhe oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herſelf with her own hand,

* A Hebrew chronicle, cited by Reland, ſays, this drowning was at *Jordan*, not at *Jericho*, and this even when he quotes Joſephus. I ſuſpect the tranſcriber of the Hebrew chronicle miſtook the name, and wrote Jordan for Jericho.

† The reading of one of Joſephus's Greek MSS. ſeems here to be right, that Ariſtobulus was *not eighteen years old* when he was drowned, for he was not *ſeventeen* when he was made high prieſt, chap. ii. § 6. chap. iii. § 3. and he continued in that office but one year, as in the place before us.

but ſtill ſhe reſtrained herſelf, in hopes ſhe might live long enough to revenge the unjuſt murder thus privately committed: Nay, ſhe farther reſolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occaſion to think ſhe ſuſpected that her ſon was ſlain on purpoſe, and ſuppoſed that ſhe might thereby be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. Thus did ſhe reſtrain herſelf, that ſhe might not be noted for entertaining any ſuch ſuſpicion. However, Herod endeavoured that none abroad ſhould believe that the child's death was cauſed by any deſign of his; and for this purpoſe he did not only uſe the ordinary ſigns of ſorrow, but fell into tears alſo, and exhibited a real confuſion of ſoul: And perhaps his affections were overcome on this occaſion, when he ſaw the child's countenance ſo young, and ſo beautiful, although his death were ſuppoſed to tend to his own ſecurity; ſo far at leaſt this grief ſerved as to make ſome apology for him: And as for his funeral, that he took care ſhould be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a ſepulchre to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of ſpices, and burying many ornaments together with him, till the very women, who were in ſuch deep ſorrow, were aſtoniſhed at it, and received in this way ſome conſolation.

5. However, no ſuch things could overcome Alexandra's grief, but the remembrance of this miſerable caſe made her ſorrow both deep and obſtinate. Accordingly ſhe wrote an account of this treacherous ſcene to Cleopatra, and how her ſon was murdered; but Cleopatra, as ſhe had formerly been deſirous to give her what ſatisfaction ſhe could, and commiſerating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the caſe her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to puniſh the child's murder; for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, ſhould be guilty of ſuch horrid crimes againſt thoſe that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was perſuaded by theſe arguments; and when he came to Laodicea, he ſent and commanded Herod to come and make his defence, as to what he had done to Ariſtobulus, for that ſuch a treacherous deſign was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accuſation, and of Cleopatra's ill will to him, which was ſuch, that ſhe was ever endeavouring to make Antony hate him. He therefore determined to obey his ſummons, for he had no poſſible way to avoid it: So he left his uncle, Joſeph, procurator for his government, and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony ſhould kill him he alſo ſhould kill Mariamne immediately, for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that ſhould be offered him, if, after his death, ſhe, for her beauty, ſhould be engaged to ſome other man: But his intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her,

when he had formerly heard ſomewhat of her beauty. So when Herod had given Joſeph this charge, and had indeed no ſure hopes of eſcaping with his life. he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joſeph was adminiſtering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reaſon was very frequently with Mariamne, both becauſe his buſineſs required it, and becauſe of the reſpects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himſelf into diſcourſes about Herod's kindneſs, and great affection towards her; and when the women, eſpecially Alexandra, uſed to turn his diſcourſes into feminine raillery, Joſeph was ſo over deſirous to demonſtrate the king's inclinations, that he proceeded ſo far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his demonſtration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he ſhould come to any ill end, he could not endure a ſeparation from her, even after he was dead. Thus ſpake Joſeph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an inſtance of Herod's ſtrong affection for them, but of his ſevere uſage of them, that they could not eſcape deſtruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himſelf: And this ſaying [of Joſeph's] was a foundation for the womens ſevere ſuſpicions about him afterwards.

7. At this time a report went about the city Jeruſalem among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, diſturbed thoſe that were about the palace, but chiefly the women: Upon which Alexandra endeavoured to perſuade Joſeph to go out of the palace, and fly to the enſigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that, by this means, if any diſturbance ſhould happen about the palace, they ſhould be in greater ſecurity, as having the Romans favourable to them; and that beſides, they hoped to obtain the higheſt authority, if Antony did but once ſee Mariamne, by whoſe means they ſhould recover the kingdom. and want nothing which was reaſonable, for them to hope for, becauſe of their royal extraction.

8. But as they were in the midſt of theſe deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he ſoon recovered his intereſt with him, by the preſents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jeruſalem, and he ſoon induced him, upon diſcourſing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, ſo that Cleopatra's perſuaſions had leſs force than the arguments and preſents he brought, to regain his friendſhip: For Antony ſaid, That "it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that thoſe who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make uſe of it." He alſo

ſaid the ſame things to Cleopatra, that it would be beſt for her not buſily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of theſe things; and "enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony: How he ſat by him at his hearing cauſes, and took his diet with him every day, and that he enjoyed thoſe favours from him, notwithſtanding the reproaches that Cleopatra ſo ſeverely laid againſt him, who having a great deſire of his country, and earneſtly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with her utmoſt diligence to have him out of the way, but that he ſtill found Antony juſt to him, and had no longer any apprehenſions of hard treatment from him; and that he was ſoon upon his return, with a firmer additional aſſurance of his favour to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper, ſince Antony had given her Celeſyria inſtead of what ſhe deſired, by which means he had at once pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which ſhe made him to have Judea beſtowed upon her."

9. When theſe letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, which they thought of, while Herod was ſuppoſed to be dead, yet was not that purpoſe of theirs a ſecret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way againſt the Parthians, he returned to Judea, when both his ſiſter Salome, and his mother informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome alſo added ſomewhat farther againſt Joſeph, though it were no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal converſation with Mariamne. The reaſon of her ſaying ſo was this, that ſhe for a long time bare her ill-will, for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne took great freedoms, and reproached the reſt for the meanneſs of their birth. But Herod, whoſe affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was preſently diſturbed at this, and could not bear the torments of jealouſy, but was ſtill reſtrained from doing any raſh thing to her by the love he had for her: Yet did his vehement affection and jealouſy together make him aſk Mariamne by herſelf about this matter of Joſeph; but ſhe denied it upon her oath, and ſaid all that an innocent woman could poſſibly ſay in her own defence, ſo that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the ſuſpicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his paſſion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having ſeemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modeſt behaviour, and profeſſed the extraordinary affection and kindneſs he had for her, till at laſt, as is uſual between lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with a moſt tender affection. But as the king gave more and more aſſurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne ſaid "Yet

was not that command thou gaveſt, that if any harm came to thee from Antony I, who had been no occaſion of it, ſhould periſh with thee, a ſign of thy love to me." When theſe words were fallen from her, the king was ſhocked at them, and preſently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and ſaid, that "now he had an evident demonſtration that Joſeph had had criminal converſation with his wife, for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himſelf, unleſs there had been ſuch a great familiarity and firm confidence between them." And while he was in this paſſion he had like to have killed his wife, but being ſtill overborne by his love to her, he reſtrained this his paſſion, though not without a laſting grief, and diſquietneſs of mind. However, he gave order to ſlay Joſeph, without permitting him to come into his ſight; and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in cuſtody, as the cauſe of all this miſchief.

CHAP. IV.

How Cleopatra, when ſhe had gotten from Antony ſome parts of Judea and Arabia, came into Judea; and how Herod gave her many Preſents, and Conducted her on her Way back to Egypt.

§ 1. NOW at this time the affairs of Syria were in confuſion by Cleopatra's conſtant perſuaſions to Antony to make an attempt upon every body's dominions; for ſhe perſuaded him to take thoſe dominions away from their ſeveral princes and beſtow them upon her; and ſhe had a mighty influence upon him, by reaſon of his being enſlaved to her by his affections. She was alſo by nature very covetous, and ſtuck at no wickedneſs. She had already poiſoned her brother, becauſe ſhe knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old: And ſhe got her ſiſter Arſinoe to be ſlain, by the means of Antony, when ſhe was a ſupplicant at Diana's temple at Epheſus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, ſhe would violate both temples and ſepulchres. Nor was there any holy place that was eſteemed the moſt inviolable, from which ſhe would not fetch the ornaments it had in it: Nor any place ſo profane, but was to ſuffer the moſt flagitious treatment poſſible from her, if it could but contribute ſomewhat to the covetous humour of this wicked creature: Yet did not all this ſuffice ſo extravagant a woman, who was a ſlave to her luſts, but ſhe ſtill imagined that ſhe wanted every thing ſhe could think of, and did her utmoſt to gain it; for which reaſon ſhe hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions and give them to her. And as ſhe went over Syria with him, ſhe con-

trived to get it into her poſſeſſion; ſo he ſlew Lyſanias, the ſon of Ptolemy, accuſing him of his bringing the Parthians upon thoſe countries. She alſo petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia, and in order thereto deſired him to take theſe countries away from their preſent governors. As for Antony, he was ſo entirely overcome by this woman, that one would not think her converſation only could do it, but that he was ſome way or other bewitched to do whatſoever ſhe would have him; yet did the groſſeſt parts of her injuſtice make him ſo aſhamed, that he would not always hearken to her, to do thoſe flagrant enormities ſhe would have perſuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor, by doing every thing which ſhe enjoined him appear openly to be an ill man, he took ſome parts of each of thoſe countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their anceſtors, although ſhe preſſed him very often to beſtow thoſe on her alſo.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia, as far as Euphrates, ſhe returned back, and came to Apamia and Damaſcus, and paſſed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her her parts of Arabia and thoſe revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balſam, which is the moſt precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears alſo palm-trees, both many in number, and thoſe excellent in their kind. When ſhe was there, and was very often with Herod, ſhe endeavoured to have criminal converſation with the king: Nor did ſhe affect ſecrecy in the indulgence of ſuch ſort of pleaſures; and perhaps ſhe had in ſome meaſure a paſſion of love to him, or rather, what is moſt probable, ſhe laid a treacherous ſnare for him, by aiming to obtain ſuch adulterous converſation from him: However, upon the whole, ſhe ſeemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good will to Cleopatra, as knowing that ſhe was a woman irkſome to all; and at that time he thought her particularly worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded out of luſt: He had alſo tho't of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if ſuch were her endeavours. However, he refuſed to comply with her propoſals, and called a counſel of his friends to conſult with them, "Whether he ſhould not kill her, now he had her in his power? For that he ſhould thereby deliver all thoſe from a multitude of evils to whom ſhe was already become irkſome, and was expected to be ſtill ſo for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himſelf, ſince ſhe would certainly not be faithful to him, in caſe any ſuch ſeaſon or neceſſity ſhould come upon him as that he ſhould ſtand in need of her fidelity." But when

he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and told him, That "in the firſt place, it was not right to attempt ſo great a thing, and run himſelf thereby into the utmoſt danger: And they laid hard at him, and begged of him to undertake nothing raſhly for that Antony would never bear it, no not though any one ſhould evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the appearance of depriving him of her converſation by this violent and treacherous method, would probably ſet his affections more on a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defence, this attempt being againſt ſuch a woman as was of the higheſt dignity of any of her ſex at that time in the world: And as to any advantage to be expected from ſuch an undertaking, if any ſuch could be ſuppoſed in this caſe, it would appear to deſerve condemnation, on account of the inſolence he muſt take upon him in doing it. Which conſiderations made it very plain that in ſo doing he would find his government filled with miſchiefs, both great and laſting, both to himſelf and his poſterity, whereas it was ſtill in his power to reject that wickedneſs ſhe would perſuade him to, and to come off honourably at the ſame time." So by thus affrighting Herod, and repreſenting to him the hazard he muſt in all probability, run by this undertaking, they reſtrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her preſents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

3. But Antony ſubdued Armenia, and ſent Artabazes, the ſon of Tigranes, in bonds with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a preſent of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra. And Artaxias, the eldeſt of his ſons, who had eſcaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia; who yet was ejected by Archelaus and Nero Cæſar, when they reſtored Tigranes his younger brother to that kingdom: But this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not ſafe for him to afford any cauſe for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whoſe tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her, for ſome time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents, but he afterwards became very niggardly, and ſlow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay ſome parts of it, and was not willing to pay even them without ſome deduction.

CHAP. V.

How Herod made War with the King of Arabia, and after they had Fought many Battles, at length Conquered him, and was choſen by the Arabs to be Governor of that Nation: As alſo concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1. HEREUPON Herod held himſelf ready to go againſt the king of Arabia, becauſe of his ingratitude to him, and becauſe, after all, he would do nothing that was juſt to him, although Herod made the Roman war an occaſion of delaying his own, for the battle at Actium was now expected, which fell into the hundred eighty and ſeventh olympiad, where Cæſar and Antony were to fight for the ſupreme power of the world; but Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raiſed great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furniſhed them with all neceſſaries, and deſigned them as auxiliaries for Antony: But Antony ſaid, he had no want of his aſſiſtance; but he commanded him to puniſh the king of Arabia; for he had heard both from him, and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was; for this was what Cleopatra deſired, who thought it for her own advantage, that theſe two kings ſhould do one another as great miſchief as poſſible. Upon this meſſage from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horſemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Dioſpolis, whither the Arabians came alſo to meet them, for they were not unappriſed of this war that was coming upon them; and after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory: But afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, which are places of Celeſyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand; ſo he came marching againſt them with the greateſt part of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he reſolved to encamp himſelf, and he caſt up a bulwark, that he might take a proper ſeaſon for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving thoſe orders, the multiude of the Jews cried out, that he ſhould make no delay, but lead them againſt the Arabians. They went with great ſpirit, as believing they were in very good order, and thoſe eſpecially were ſo that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemies ſo much as to come to a cloſe fight with them. And when they were ſo tumultuous, and ſhewed ſuch great alacrity, the king reſolved to make uſe of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had aſſured them he would not be behind hand with them in courage, he led them on, and

ſtood before them all in his armour, all the regiments following him in their ſeveral ranks: Whereupon a conſternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of ſpirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting, and they had been quite deſtroyed, had not Athenio fallen upon the Jews, and diſtreſſed them, for this man was Cleopatra's general over the ſoldiers ſhe had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wiſtfully looked on to ſee what the event of the battle would be: He had alſo reſolved, that in caſe the Arabians did any thing that was brave and ſucceſsful, he would lie ſtill, but in caſe they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with thoſe forces he had of his own, and with thoſe that the country had gotten together for him: So he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquiſhed the enemy, and made a great ſlaughter of them; for as the Jews had ſpent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themſelves in quietneſs after their victory, they were eaſily beaten by theſe that attacked them afreſh, and in particular received a great loſs in places where the horſes could not be of ſervice, and which were very ſtony, and where thoſe that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themſelves. And when the Jews had ſuffered this loſs, the Arabians raiſed their ſpirits after their defeat, and returning back again, ſlew thoſe that were already put to flight; and indeed all ſort of ſlaughter were now frequent, and of thoſe that eſcaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he deſpaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them aſſiſtance, yet did he not come time enough to do them any ſervice, though he laboured hard to do it, but the Jewiſh camp was taken, ſo that the Arabians had unexpectedly a moſt glorious ſucceſs, having gained that victory which of themſelves they were no way likely to have gained, and ſlaying a great part of the enemy's army: Whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excurſions upon many parts of Arabia, and diſtreſs them by ſudden incurſions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle, yet did he greatly harraſs the enemy by his aſſiduity, and the hard labour he took in this matter. He alſo took great care of his own forces, and uſed all the means he could to reſtore his affairs to their old ſtate.

2. At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Ceſar and Antony, in * the ſeventh year of the reign of Herod; and then it was alſo there was an earthquake

* The reader is here to take notice, that this *ſeventh* year of the reign of Herod, and all the other years of his reign, in Joſephus, are dated from the death of Antigonus, or at the ſooneſt from the conqueſt of Antigonus, and the taking of Jeruſalem a few months before, and never from his firſt obtaining the kingdom at Rome above three years before, as ſome have very weakly and injudiciouſly done.

in Judea, such an one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair, for they had no hope that they should be upon a level again with them in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits which were quite sunk; and first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort before hand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:

3. "You are not unacquainted, my fellow-soldiers, that we have had not long since, many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about, and it is probable, that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage, can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances, but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that hath happened is of such a nature but it may by yourselves be recovered into a good state and this by one brave action only, well performed, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time some information, both which parts of my design, will tend to this point, that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. I will then, in the first place, demonstrate to you, that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries, for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity to you, after which I will farther demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shews the grossest barbarity and

ignorance of God. Their chief things wherein they have affronted us, have arisen from covetousness and envy, and they have attacked us in an insidious manner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? For it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness: But when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute: And this they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they, who have professed, and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness, that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and this while we have been still not their enemies but their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bittereſt enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever, and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it: Is it therefore a question with you, Whether the unjust are to be punished or not? When God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hath commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustice, which is not only just but necessary in wars between several nations; for these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and Barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, which they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are * sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law by angels, or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile

* Herod says here, that as *ambassadors* were sacred, when they carried messages to others, so did the laws of the Jews derive a sacred authority by being delivered from God by *angels* [or *divine ambassadors*] which is St. Paul's expression, about the same laws, Gal. iii. 19. Heb. ii. 2.

enemies one to another. What wickedneſs then can be greater than the ſlaughter of ambaſſadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? And when ſuch have been their actions, how is it poſſible they can either live ſecurely in common life, or be ſucceſsful in war? In my opinion this is impoſſible; but perhaps ſome will ſay that what is holy, and what is righteous is indeed on our ſide, but the Arabians are either more courageous, or more numerous than we are. Now as to this, in the firſt place, it is not fit for us to ſay ſo, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himſelf; now, where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumſtances a little, we were conquerors in the firſt battle; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppoſe us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks, or our courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion, and made war againſt us without declaring it; and pray, is this an inſtance of their manhood? Or is it not a ſecond inſtance of their wickedneſs and treachery? Why are we therefore of leſs courage, on account of that which ought to inſpire us with ſtronger hopes? And why are we terrified at theſe, who, when they fight upon the level, are continually beaten, and when they ſeem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedneſs? And if we ſuppoſe that any one ſhould deem them to be men of real courage, will not he be excited by that very conſideration to do his utmoſt againſt them? For true valour is not ſhewn by fighting againſt weak perſons, but in being able to overcome the moſt hardy. But then, if the diſtreſſes we are ourſelves under, and the miſeries that have come by the earthquake, hath affrighted any one, let him conſider in the firſt place, that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, by their ſuppoſal that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover it is not right that the ſame thing that emboldens them ſhould diſcourage us; for theſe men, you ſee, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite caſt down by our miſfortunes; but when we boldly march againſt them, we ſhall ſoon pull down their inſolent conceit of themſelves and ſhall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be ſo inſolent when we come to the battle, for our diſtreſſes are not ſo great, nor is what hath happened an indication of the anger of God againſt us, as ſome imagine, for ſuch things are accidental, and adverſities that come in the uſual courſe of things; and if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we muſt allow that it is now over by his will alſo. and that he is ſatisfied with what hath already happened, for had he been willing to afflict us ſtill more thereby he had not changed his mind ſo ſoon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himſelf demonſtrated, that he is willing it ſhould go on, and that he knows it to be a juſt war; for while ſome of the people in the country have periſhed, all you who

were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass, that you had not undergone any thing that would have much hurt you. Consider these things and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship, are unjust in their battles, perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had * offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to that passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle, and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified; and as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it; at first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten, and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately; and when Herod observed that the enemies army were disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly; so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder,

* This piece of religion, the supplicating God with sacrifices, by Herod, before he went to this fight with the Arabians, taken notice of also in the first book Of the War, ch. xix. § 5. vol. III. is worth remarking, because it is the only example of this nature, so far as I remember, that Josephus ever mentions in all his large and particular accounts of this Herod: And it was when he had been in mighty distress, and discouraged by a great defeat of his former army, and by a very great earthquake in Judea, such times of affliction making men most religious: Nor was he disappointed of his hopes here, but immediately gained a most signal victory over the Arabians, while they who just before had been so great victors, and so much elevated upon the earthquake in Judea as to venture to slay the Jewish ambassadors, were now under a strange consternation, and hardly able to fight at all.

and were deſtroyed by their own armour; ſo five thouſand men lay dead upon the ſpot, while the reſt of the multitude ſoon ran within the bulwark [for ſafety], but had no firm hope of ſafety, by reaſon of their want of neceſſaries, and eſpecially of water. The Jews purſued them; but could not get in with them but ſat round about the bulwark, and watched any aſſiſtance that would get in to them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from running away.

5. When the Arabians were in theſe circumſtances, they ſent ambaſſadors to Herod, in the firſt place to propoſe terms of accommodation, and after that to offer him, ſo preſſing was their thirſt upon them, to undergo whatſoever he pleaſed, if he would free them from their preſent diſtreſs; but he would admit of no ambaſſadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very deſirous to revenge thoſe unjuſt actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were neceſſitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirſt to come out, and deliver themſelves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days time, the number of four thouſand were taken priſoners, while all the reſt reſolved to make a ſally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, chooſing rather, if ſo it muſt be, to die therein, than to periſh gradually and inglorioufly. When they had taken this reſolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way ſuſtain the fight, being too much diſabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themſelves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a miſery to ſurvive; ſo at the firſt onſet there fell about ſeven thouſand of them, after which ſtroke they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and ſtood amazed at Herod's warlike ſpirit under his own calamities; ſo for the future, they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at ſo ſeaſonable a ſucceſs, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of ſo bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

CHAP. VI.

How Herod ſlew Hyrcanus, and then haſted away to Ceſar, and obtained the Kingdom from him alſo; and how, a little time afterward he entertained Ceſar in a moſt honourable manner.

§ 1. HEROD's other affairs were now very proſperous; and he was not to be eaſily aſſaulted on any ſide. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Ceſar [Octavian]; for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends deſpaired of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without puniſhment who

had shewed so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired and had no hopes of his escape, but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him, at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself; And in case he should be slain by Cesar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him; for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: But Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was exceeding desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear forever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them [from Herod], for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved to be, as it was likely they would be, by reason of Cesar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government, and this, both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she shewed that she was a woman and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs, she at last prevailed with him to intrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who should receive him and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: And he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter because he was a careful attendant on him, and on Alexandra, and had no small occasions to bear ill-will to Herod; for he was a kinsman of one Joseph whom he had slain, and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony: Yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair, for preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the

letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bid him besides do what he had already done, that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then to bring back his letter in answer to it, for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party: That he would moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey, and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus: And when he denied it, he shewed his letter to the Sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod: But other historians do not agree with them; for they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him; for thus do they write: That Herod and he were once at a treat, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at him], but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus? And when he answered, that he had received letters, but those of salutation only; and when he asked farther, whether he had not received any presents from him? And when he had replied, that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him; and they pretend that Herod charged these upon him as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to his end, they alleged how mild his temper had been, and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater; and that he was now above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond that river, though he were to be entirely under Herod's government, and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a plot of Herod's own contrivance.

4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime: For he was made high-priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign, who

held the government nine years; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still conflicted with many misfortunes thro' the whole course of his life; and what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have related already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom: And both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness, and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Cæsar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome,] and the whole family at Massada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government: But as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandrium, with Alexandra her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea, to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both, and, as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

6. When he had given them this charge, he made haste to Rhodes, to meet Cæsar; and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity: And when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul, for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender, but after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done; for he spake thus

to Cæsar, That "he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government: That he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him, but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him; for, if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium: Nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra; for when she was once dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None of which advices would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolutions before them, which have happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now, therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no room for me to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him: But if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behave myself to my benefactors in general, and what a sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall do and be the same to thy self, for it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear to thee, will not be disapproved by thee."

7. By this speech, and by his behavour, which shewed Cæsar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper, insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, procured him Cæsar's good will. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a friend to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintus Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever, by Cæsar's donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Cæsar took care to procure for his greater security, he conducted Cæsar on his way to Egypt, and made presents, even beyond

his ability, to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also desired that Cæsar would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony's; but Cæsar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition. And now he returned to Judea again with greater honour and assurance than ever, and affrighted those that had expectations to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendor than before, by the favour of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Cæsar, as he was going out of Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Cæsar's most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Cæsar, and had an hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of; and besides, he presented Cæsar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good will of them all, because he was assisting them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford, by which means he more and more demonstrated to Cæsar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was of the greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also: And when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.

CHAP. VII.

How Herod slew Sohemus, and Mariamne, and afterward Alexandra, and Costobarus, and his most intimate Friends, and at last the sons of Baba also.

§ 1. HOWEVER, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy; for, as they supposed, what was easy to be supposed, that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing either of others or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy; and Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was but hy pocriticaly, and rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, as real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow

her any hopes of ſurviving him, if he ſhould come to any harm himſelf. She alſo recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joſeph, inſomuch that ſhe endeavoured to pleaſe her keepers, and eſpecially Sohemus, as well appriſed how all was in his power. And at the firſt Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women, by kind words and liberal preſents, had gained his affections over to them he was by degrees overcome, and at length diſcovered to them all the king's injunctions, and this on that account principally, that he did not ſo much as hope he would come back with the ſame authority he had before, ſo that he thought he ſhould both eſcape any danger from him, and ſuppoſed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the ſettling of the government, nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompence, ſince they muſt either reign themſelves, or be very near to him that ſhould reign. He had a farther ground of hope alſo, that though Herod ſhould have all the ſucceſs he could wiſh for, and ſhould return again, he could not contradict his wife in what he deſired, for he knew that the king's fondneſs for his wife was inexpreſſible. Theſe were the motives that drew Sohemus to diſcover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly diſpleaſed to hear that there was no end of the dangers ſhe was under from Herod, and was greatly uneaſy, at it, and wiſhed that he might obtain no favours [from Cæſar,] and eſteemed it almoſt an inſurportable taſk, to live with him any longer: And this ſhe afterward openly declared, without concealing her reſentment.

2. And now Herod ſailed home with joy, at the unexpected good ſucceſs he had had; and went firſt of all as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the reſt, on account of his fondneſs for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and ſaluted her; but ſo it happened, that as he told her of the good ſucceſs he had had, ſhe was ſo far from rejoicing at it, that ſhe rather was ſorry for it; nor was ſhe able to conceal her reſentments, but depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his ſalutations, ſhe gave a groan, and declared evidently that ſhe rather grieved than rejoiced at his ſucceſs, and this till Herod was diſturbed at her, as affording him, not only marks of her ſuſpicion, but evident ſigns of her diſſatisfaction. This much troubled him, to ſee that this ſurpriſing hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, but open; and he took this ſo ill, and yet was ſo unable to bear it, on account of the fondneſs he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind, but ſometimes was angry at her, and ſometimes reconciled himſelf to her, but by always changing one paſſion for another, he was ſtill in great uncertainty, and thus was he entangled between hatred and love,

and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her insolence towards him, but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring an heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to exercise their hatred against her, and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he courage enough to do any thing to her, as if he believed them, but still he became worse and worse disposed to her, and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him, and he turned his love to her into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Cæsar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt, whereupon he made haste to go to meet Cesar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honourable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly. Now, when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Cæsar with great freedom, as already a friend of his, and received very great favours from him; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards and restored that country to him again, which, by her means, had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom, Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria; and, besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

4. Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent, and conducted Cæsar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly, in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly. As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him, yet had she somewhat of a woman, rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself that she lived under a

monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would also expose his mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth, and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch, that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Cæsar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him: And when he was very desirous of her company, she shewed her contempt of him; and added by way of reproach, that he had caused * her father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed sent in to the king his cup bearer who had been prepared long before-hand for such a design, and bid him tell the king, how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him. And if he appear to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was? to tell him, that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him: But that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop, and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him in at this time to make such a speech. So he went in after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said, that "Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to give him a love potion." And when this moved the king, he said, that "this love potion was a composition that she had given him, whose effects he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king." When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent; and he ordered that eunuch of Mariamne's who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any

* Whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the murder of her *father* [Alexander,] as well as her *brother* [Aristobulus,] while it was her grandfather Hyrcanus, and not her father Alexander, whom he caused to be slain, (as Josephus himself informs us, ch. vi. § 2.), we must either take Zonora's reading, which is here *grandfather* rightly, or else we must, as before, ch. i. § 1. allow a slip of Josephus's pen or memory in the place before us.

thing ſmall or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmoſt agonies, he could ſay nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but ſo far he knew, that Mariamne's hatred againſt him was occaſioned by ſomewhat that Sohemus had ſaid to her. Now, as he was ſaying this, Herod cried out aloud and ſaid, that "Sohemus, who had been at all other times moſt faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unleſs he had had a nearer converſation than ordinary with Mariamne." So he gave order that Sohemus ſhould be ſeized on and ſlain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial: And got together thoſe that were moſt faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accuſation againſt her for this love potion and compoſition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he ſaid, and was in too great a paſſion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length ſatisfied that he was ſo reſolved, they paſſed the ſentence of death upon her: But when the ſentence was paſſed upon her, this temper was ſuggeſted by himſelf, and by ſome others of the court, that ſhe ſhould not be thus haſtily put to death, but be laid in priſon in one of the fortreſſes belonging to the kingdom; but Salome and her party laboured hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do ſo, and adviſed this out of caution, leſt the multitude ſhould be tumultuous if ſhe were ſuffered to live: And thus was Mariamne led to execution.

5. When Alexandra obſerved how things went, and that there were ſmall hopes that ſhe herſelf ſhould eſcape the like treatment from Herod, ſhe changed her behaviour to quite the reverſe of what might have been expected from her former boldneſs, and this after a very indecent manner; for out of her deſire to ſhew how entirely ignorant ſhe was of the crimes laid againſt Mariamne, ſhe leaped out of her place, and reproached her daughter, in the hearing of all people; and cried out, That "ſhe had been an ill woman, and ungrateful to her huſband, and that her puniſhment came juſtly upon her, for ſuch her inſolent behaviour, for that ſhe had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor." And when ſhe had ſome time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been ſo outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and diſſembling behaviour, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the reſt of the ſpectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to ſuffer; for at the firſt ſhe gave her not a word, nor was diſcompoſed at her peeviſhneſs, and only looked at her, yet did ſhe out of a greatneſs of ſoul diſcover her concern for her mother's and eſpecially for her expoſing herſelf in a manner ſo unbecoming her; but as for herſelf, ſhe went to her death with an unſhaken firmneſs of mind, and without changing the colour of her face, and there-

by evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

6. And thus died Mariamne; a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity, and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature, yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation: And thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness to her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother, and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands, for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long cohabitation and free conversation together, brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like divine vengeance upon him, for the taking away her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her, in a most indecent manner. Moreover he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts, and assemblies, for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, and carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced himself to go into desert places, and there, under pretence of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself: He had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness; and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians

alſo that were about him, partly becauſe the medicines they brought for his recovery could not all conquer the diſeaſe, and partly becauſe his diet could be no other than what his diſeaſe inclined him to, deſired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and ſo left the ſmall hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his diſtemper go on, while he was at Samaria, now called *Sebaſte*.

8. Now Alexandra abode at this time at Jeruſalem, and being informed what condition Herod was in, ſhe endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itſelf, the other belonging to the temple; and thoſe that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not poſſible to offer their ſacrifices: And to think of leaving off thoſe ſacrifices, is to every Jew plainly impoſſible, who are ſtill more ready to loſe their lives than to leave off that divine worſhip which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, diſcourſed with thoſe that had the keeping of theſe ſtrong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the ſame to her, and to Herod's ſons, leſt, upon his death, any other perſon ſhould ſeize, upon the government; and that upon his recovery none could keep them more ſafely for him than thoſe of his own family. Theſe words were not by them at all taken in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod], they reſolved to continue ſo now more than ever, both becauſe they hated Alexandra, and becauſe they thought it a ſort of impiety to deſpair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them whoſe name was *Achiabus*, was his couſin german. They ſent meſſengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's deſign; ſo he made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her ſlain; yet was it ſtill with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his diſtemper. He was ſtill ſorely afflicted both in mind and body, and made very uneaſy, and readier than ever upon all occaſions to inflict puniſhment upon thoſe that fell under his hand. He alſo ſlew the moſt intimate of his friends. Coſtobarus, and Lyſimachus, and Gadias who was alſo called *Antipater*; as alſo Doſitheus, and that upon the following occaſion.

9. Coſtobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whoſe anceſtors had been prieſts to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had [formerly] eſteemed as a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewiſh cuſtoms and law, Herod made Coſtobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his ſiſter Salome to wife; and this was upon his ſlaughter of [his uncle] Joſeph, who had that government before, as we have related already. When

Coſtobarus had gotten to be ſo highly advanced, it pleaſed him, and was more than he hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good ſucceſs, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him, or that the Idumeans ſhould make uſe of the Jewiſh cuſtoms, or be ſubject to them. He therefore ſent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the ſame reaſon it was but juſt that ſhe ſhould deſire that country for him of Antony, for that he was ready to transfer his friendſhip to her: And this he did, not becauſe he was better pleaſed to be under Cleopatra's government, but becauſe he tho't that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himſelf the entire government over the Idumeans, and ſomewhat more alſo; for he raiſed his hopes ſtill higher, as having no ſmall pretences, both by his birth, and by theſe riches, which he had gotten by his conſtant attention to filthy lucre; and accordingly it was not a ſmall matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra deſired this country of Antony, but failed of her purpoſe. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon ready to kill Coſtobarus, yet, upon the entreaties of his ſiſter and mother, he forgave him, and vouchſafed to pardon him entirely, though he ſtill had a ſuſpicion of him afterward for this his attempt.

10. But ſome time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Coſtobarus, ſhe * ſent him a bill of divorce, and diſſolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewiſh laws; for with us it is lawful for an huſband to do ſo, but a wife, if ſhe departs from her huſband, cannot of herſelf be married to another, unleſs her former huſband put her away. However, Salome choſe to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority, and ſo renounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that ſhe left her huſband out of her good will to him, becauſe ſhe perceived that he, with Antipater and Lyſimachus, and Doſitheus, were

* Here is a plain example of a Jewiſh lady giving a bill of divorce to her huſband, though in the days of Joſephus it was not eſteemed lawful for a woman ſo to do. See the like among the Parthians, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. ix. § 6. However, the Chriſtian law, when it allowed divorce for adultery, Matt. v 32. allowed the innocent wife to divorce her guilty husband, as well as the innocent husband to divorce his guilty wife, as we learn from the ſhepherd of Hermas, Mand. B. IV. and from the ſecond apology of Juſtin Martyr, where a perſecution was brought upon the Chriſtians upon ſuch a divorce: And I think the Roman laws permitted it at that time, as well as the laws of Chriſtianity. Now this Babas, who was one of the race of the Aſamoneans or Maccabees, as the latter end of this ſection informs us, is related by the Jews, as Dr. Hudſon here remarks, to have been ſo eminently religious in the Jewiſh way, that, except the day following the 10th of Tiſri, the great day of atonement, when he ſeems to have ſuppoſed all his ſins entirely forgiven, he uſed every day of the whole year to offer a ſacrifice for his ſins of ignorance, or ſuch as he ſuppoſed he had been guilty of, but did not diſtinctly remember. See ſomewhat like it of Agrippa the Great, Antiq. B. XIX. ch. iii. § 3. vol. II. and Job. i. 4, 5.

raiſing a ſedition againſt him: As an evidence whereof, ſhe alleged the caſe of the ſons of Babas, that they had been by him preſerved alive already for the interval of twelve years; which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly ſurpriſed at it, and was the more ſurpriſed, becauſe the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to theſe ſons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to puniſhment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time [ſince he had ordered them to be ſlain.] Now, the cauſe of his ill will and hatred to them aroſe hence, that while Antigonus was king, Herod, with his army, beſieged the city of Jeruſalem, where the diſtreſs and miſeries which the beſieged endured, were ſo preſſing, that the greater number of them invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now, the ſons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raiſing calumnies againſt Herod, and encouraged the people to preſerve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So theſe men acted thus politically, and, as they tho't, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his hands, and Coſtobarus was appointed to hinder men from paſſing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that thoſe citizens that were guilty, and of the party oppoſite to the king, might not get out of it, Coſtobarus being ſenſible that the ſons of Babas were had in reſpect and honour by the whole multitude, and ſuppoſing that their preſervation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he ſet them by themſelves, and concealed them in his own farms; and when the thing was ſuſpected, he aſſured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and ſo overcame the ſuſpicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly propoſed a reward for the diſcovery, and had put in practice all ſorts of methods for ſearching out this matter, he would not confeſs it, but being perſuaded that when he had at firſt denied it, if the men were found, he ſhould not eſcape unpuniſhed, he was forced to keep them ſecret, not only out of his good will to them, but out of a neceſſary regard to his own preſervation alſo: But when the king knew the thing, by his ſiſter's information, he ſent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and thoſe that were accuſed as guilty with them, to be ſlain, inſomuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power and there was nobody remaining of ſuch dignity as could put a ſtop to what he did againſt the Jewiſh laws.

CHAP. VIII.

How ten Men of the Citizens [of Jeruſalem] made a Conſpiracy againſt Herod, for the Foreign practices he had introduced, which was a Tranſgreſſion of the Laws of their Country. Concerning the Building of Sebaſte and Ceſarea, and other Edifices of Herod.

§ 1. ON this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient conſtitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which conſtitution yet ought to have been preſerved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedneſs afterward, while thoſe religious obſervances which uſed to lead the multitude to piety, were now neglected: For, in the firſt place, he appointed ſolemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæſar, and built a theatre at Jeruſalem, as alſo a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed coſtly works, but oppoſite to the Jewiſh cuſtoms; for we have had no ſuch ſhows delivered down to us as fit to be uſed or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate theſe games every five years, in the moſt ſolemn and ſplendid manner. He alſo made proclamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wreſtlers alſo, and the reſt of thoſe that ſtrove for the prizes in ſuch games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be beſtowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal perſons that were the moſt eminent in theſe ſorts of exerciſes, were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory propoſed, not only to thoſe that performed their exerciſes naked, but to thoſe that played the muſicians alſo, and were called *Thymelici*; and he ſpared no pains to induce all perſons, the moſt famous for ſuch exerciſes, to come to this conteſt for victory. He alſo propoſed no ſmall rewards to thoſe who ran for the prizes in chariot races when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horſes. He alſo imitated every thing, though never ſo coſtly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give moſt public demonſtration of his grandeur. Inſcriptions alſo of the great actions of Cæſar, and trophies of thoſe nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the pureſt gold and ſilver, encompaſſed the theatre itſelf: Nor was there any thing that could be ſubſervient to his deſign, whether it were precious garments, or precious ſtones ſet in order, which was not alſo expoſed to ſight in theſe games. He had alſo made a great preparation of wild beaſts, and of lions themſelves in great abundance, and of ſuch other beaſts as were either of uncommon ſtrength, or of ſuch a ſort as were rarely ſeen. Theſe were prepared either to fight with one another,

or that men who were condemned to death, were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly ſurpriſed and delighted at the vaſtneſs of the expences here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were here ſeen; * but to natural Jews, this was no better than a diſſolution of thoſe cuſtoms for which they had ſo great a veneration. It appeared alſo no better than an inſtance of bareſaced impiety, to throw men to wild beaſts, for the offering delight to the ſpectators; and it appeared an inſtance of no leſs impiety, to change their own laws for ſuch foreign exerciſes: But above all the reſt, the trophies gave moſt diſtaſte to the Jews, for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hung round about them, they were ſorely diſpleaſed at them, becauſe it was not the cuſtom of their country to pay honours to ſuch images.

2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with the diſturbance they were under; and as he thought it unſeaſonable to uſe violence with them, ſo he ſpake to ſome of them by way of conſolation, and in order to free them from that ſuperſtitious fear they were under; yet could not he ſatisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneaſineſs at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they ſhould think of bearing all the reſt, yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, becauſe this was diſagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod ſaw them in ſuch a diſorder, and that they would not eaſily change their reſolution unleſs they received ſatisfaction in this point, he called to him the moſt eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theatre, and ſhewed them the trophies, and aſked them, what ſort of things they took theſe trophies to be? And when they cried out, that they were the images of men, he gave order that they ſhould be ſtripped of theſe outward ornaments which were about them, and ſhewed them the naked pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great ſport and laughter to them becauſe they had before always had the ornaments of images themſelves in deriſion.

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had diſſipated the vehemency of paſſion under which they had been, the greateſt part of the people were diſpoſed to change their conduct, and not to be diſpleaſed at him any longer; but ſtill ſome of them continued in their diſpleaſure againſt him, for his introduction of new cuſtoms, and eſteem-

* Theſe grand plays, and ſhows, and *thymelici*, or muſic meetings, and chariot races, when the chariots were drawn by two, three, or four pair of horſes, &c. inſtituted by Herod in his theatres, were ſtill, as we ſee here, looked on by the ſober Jews as heathenish ſports, and tending to corrupt the manners of the Jewish nation, and to bring them to love with Paganiſh idolatry, and Paganish conduct of life, but to the diſſolution of the law of Moſes, and accordingly were greatly and juſtly condemned by them, as appears here and every where elſe in Joſephus. Nor is the caſe of our modern maſquerades, plays, operas and the like *pomps and vanities of this wicked world*, of any better tendency under Chriſtianity.

ed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great miſchiefs to them, ſo that they deemed it an inſtance of piety rather to hazard themſelves [to be put to death], than to ſeem as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced ſuch cuſtoms, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been uſed to before as indeed in pretence a king, but in reality one that ſhewed himſelf an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jeruſalem], conſpired together againſt him, and ſware to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments, [for the purpoſe of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among thoſe conſpirators, who had thus ſworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had againſt what he heard to have been done; he was not indeed able to afford the reſt any aſſiſtance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any ſuffering with them, if ſo be they ſhould come to any harm, inſomuch, that he became a very great encourager of the reſt of the undertakers.

4. When they had taken this reſolution, and that by common conſent, they went into the theatre, hoping that, in the firſt place, Herod himſelf could not eſcape them, as they ſhould fall upon him ſo unexpectedly; and ſuppoſing, however, that if they miſſed him, they ſhould kill a great many of thoſe that were about him; and this reſolution they took though they ſhould die for it, in order to ſuggeſt to the king, what injuries he had done to the multitude. Theſe conſpirators, therefore, ſtanding thus prepared before hand, went about their deſign with great alacrity; but there was one of thoſe ſpies of Herod's that were appointed for ſuch purpoſes, to fiſh out and inform him of any conſpiracies that ſhould be made againſt him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theatre. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greateſt part of the people bore him, and on the diſturbances that aroſe upon every occaſion, he thought this plot againſt him not to be improbable. Accordingly he retired into his palace, and called thoſe that were accuſed of this conſpiracy before him by their ſeveral names; and as upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not eſcape, they prepared themſelves for their ends with all the decency they could, and ſo as not at all to recede from their reſolute behaviour, for they ſhewed no ſhame for what they were about nor denied it, but when they were ſeized, they ſhewed their daggers, and profeſſed, that "the conſpiracy they had ſworn to was an holy and a pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their paſſions, but principally for thoſe common cuſtoms of their country, which all the Jews were obliged to obſerve, or to die for them." This was what theſe men ſaid.

out of their undaunted courage in this conſpiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that ſtood about them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that ſpy who had diſcovered them, was ſeized on by ſome of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him, and was not only ſlain by them, but pulled to pieces limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was ſeen by many of the citizens, yet would not one of them diſcover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a ſtrict ſcrutiny after them, by bitter and ſevere tortures, certain women that were tortured confeſſed what they had ſeen done: Authors of which fact were ſo terribly puniſhed by the king, that their entire families were deſtroyed, for this their raſh attempt, yet did not the obſtinacy of the people, and that undaunted conſtancy they ſhewed in the defence of their laws, make Herod any eaſier to them, but he ſtill ſtrengthened himſelf after a more ſecure manner, and reſolved to encompaſs the multitude every way, leſt ſuch innovations ſhould end in an open rebellion.

5. Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple which had a ſtrong fortreſs by it, called Antonia, and was re-built by himſelf, he contrived to make Samaria a fortreſs for himſelf alſo againſt all the people, and called it Sebaſte, ſuppoſing that this place would be a ſtrong hold againſt the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey diſtant from Jeruſalem, and which would be uſual to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He alſo built another fortreſs for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Ceſarea. Moreover, he choſe out ſome ſeleſt horſemen, and placed them in the great plain; and built [for them] a place in Galilee, called Gaba, with Heſebonitis, in Perea. And theſe were the places which he particularly built, while he always inventing ſomewhat farther for his own ſecurity, and encompaſſing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any ſmall commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it while ſome of his ſpies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of thoſe that had been aſſiſting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood alſo, whom he made fellow-citizens with the reſt. This he did out of an ambitious deſire of building a temple and out of a deſire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but principally becauſe he contrived that it might at once be for his own ſecurity, and a monument of his magnificence. He alſo

changed its name, and called it Sebaſte. Moreover he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in an happy condition, upon their firſt coming to inhabit. Beſides all which, he encompaſſed the city with a wall of great ſtrength, and made uſe of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications ſtronger; nor was the compaſs of the place made now ſo ſmall as it had been before, but was ſuch as rendered it not inferior to the moſt famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now within, and about the middle of it he built a ſacred place, of a furlong and an half [in circuit,] and adorned it with all ſorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illuſtrious on account of both its largeneſs and beauty. And as to the ſeveral parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all ſorts alſo; and as to what was neceſſary to provide for his own ſecurity, he made the walls very ſtrong for that purpoſe, and made it for the greateſt part, a citadel; and as to the elegance of the buildings, it was taken care of alſo, that he might leave monuments of the fineneſs of his taſte, and of his beneficence to future ages.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Famine that happened in Judea and Syria: And how Herod, after he had Married another Wife, rebuilt Ceſarea, and other Grecian Cities.

§ 1. NOW on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country: Whether they were derived from the anger of God, or * whether this miſery return again naturally in certain periods of time; for, in the firſt place, there were perpetual droughts, and for that reaſon the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the ſame quantity of fruits that it uſed to produce; and after this barrenneſs of the ſoil, that change of food which the want of corn occaſioned, produced diſtempers in the bodies of men, and a peſtilential diſeaſe prevailed, one miſery following upon the back of another: And theſe circumſtances that they were diſtitute both of methods of cure, and of food, made the peſtilential diſtemper, which began after a violent manner, the more laſting. The deſtruction of men alſo after ſuch a manner deprived thoſe that ſurvived of

* Here we have an eminent example of the language of Joſephus in his writing to Gentiles, different from that when he wrote to Jews: In his writing to whom he ſtill derives all ſuch judgments from the anger of God; but becauſe he knew many of the Gentiles thought they might naturally come in certain periods, he complies with them in the following ſentence. See the note on the War, B. I. ch. xxxiii. § 2. Vol. III.

all their courage, becauſe they had no way to provide remedies ſufficient for the diſtreſſes they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were ſpoiled, and whatſoever they had laid up beforehand was ſpent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the miſery, contrary to what they expected, ſtill increaſed upon them; and this, not only on that year, while they had nothing for themſelves left [at the end of it,] but what ſeed they had ſown periſhed alſo, by reaſon of the ground not yielding its fruits on the * ſecond year. This diſtreſs they were in made them alſo out of neceſſity to eat many things that did not uſe to be eaten: Nor was the king himſelf free from this diſtreſs any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he uſed to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had in his liberality to thoſe whoſe cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy of his aſſiſtance, ſince this miſerable ſtate of things had procured him the hatred of his ſubjects, for it is a conſtant rule, that misfortunes are ſtill laid to the account of thoſe that govern.

2. In theſe circumſtances he conſidered with himſelf how to procure ſome ſeaſonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbours had no food to ſell them, and their money alſo was gone, had it been poſſible to purchaſe a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his beſt way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavours to aſſiſt his people; ſo he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of ſilver and gold, inſomuch that he did not ſpare the fineſt veſſels he had, or thoſe that were made with the moſt elaborate ſkill of the artificers, but ſent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Cæſar; and as not a few had already fled to him under their neceſſities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and deſirous to have his ſubjects preſerved, he gave leave to them, in the firſt place, to export corn, and aſſiſted them every way, both in purchaſing and exporting the ſame, ſo that he was the principal, if not the only perſon who afforded them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people ſhould underſtand that this help came from himſelf, did thereby not only remove from him the ill opinion of thoſe that formerly hated him, but gave them the

* This famine for two years that affected Judea and Syria the 13th and 14th years of Herod, which are the 23d and 24th years before the Chriſtian era, ſeems to have been more terrible during this time than was that in the days of Jacob, Gen. xli. xlii. And what makes the compariſon the more remarkable is this, that now, as well as then, the relief they had was from Egypt alſo, then from Joſeph the governor of Egypt, under Pharaoh King of Egypt, and now from Petronius the prefect of Egypt, under Auguſtus the Roman Emperor. See almoſt the like caſe, Antiq. B. XX. ch. ii. § 6. Vol. II. It is alſo well worth our obſervation here, that theſe two years were a ſabbatic year, and a year of jubilee, for which, providence, during the theocracy, uſed to provide a triple crop beforehand, but became now, when the Jews had forfeited that bleſſing, the greateſt years of famine to them ever ſince the days of Ahab, 1 Kings xvii, xviii.

greateſt demonſtration poſſible of his good will to them, and care of them; for, in the firſt place, as for thoſe who were able to provide their own food, he diſtributed to them their proportion of corn in the exacteſt manner, but for thoſe many that were not able, either by reaſon of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themſelves, he made this proviſion for them, that the bakers ſhould make their bread ready for them. He alſo took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, ſince they were in great want of clothing alſo, by reaſon of the utter deſtruction and conſumption of their ſheep and goats, till they had no wool to make uſe of, nor any thing elſe to cover themſelves withal. And when he had procured theſe things for his own ſubjects, he went farther, in order to provide neceſſaries for their neighbours, and gave ſeed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage alſo, this charitable aſſiſtance being afforded moſt ſeaſonably to their fruitful ſoil, ſo that every one had now a plentiful proviſion of food. Upon the whole, when the harveſt of the land was approaching, he ſent no fewer than fifty thouſand men whom he had ſuſtained, into the country; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generoſity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were under the ſame calamities, for there was nobody who had been in want that was left deſtitue of a ſuitable aſſiſtance by him: Nay, farther, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make proviſion for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of ſupport, and had recourſe to him, but received what they ſtood in need of, inſomuch, that it apppeared upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten attick medimni a piece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thouſand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourſcore thouſand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this ſeaſonable benefaction, had ſuch influence on the Jews, and was ſo cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of ſome of their cuſtoms, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation, and that this liberality of his aſſiſtance in this their greateſt neceſſity was full ſatisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it alſo procured him great fame among foreigners; and it looked as if theſe calamities that afflicted his land to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raiſe his glory, and to be to his great advantage, for the greatneſs of his liberality in theſe diſtreſſes, which he now demonſtrated beyond all expectation, did ſo change the diſpoſition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to ſuppoſe he had been from the beginning not ſuch an one as they had found him to be by experience, but ſuch an one as the care he had taken on them in ſupplying their neceſſities proved him now to be.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Cæsar, whom * Ælius Gallus led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats, and beds, and these were so large, that they could contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them, for one apartment was called Cæsar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows: There was one *Simon*, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there: This man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time: and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her: And when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny, so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable; so he immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him [by marrying his daughter.]

4. When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and

* This Ælius seems to be no other than that Aelius Largus whom Dio speaks of as conducting an expedition that was about this time made into Arabia Felix, according to Petavius, who is here cited by Spanheim. See a full account of this expedition in Prideaux at the years 23 and 24.

alſo on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vaſt expences, for the place itſelf is deſtitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeneſs, and having the hill above it in the nature of a caſtle.

5. And now, when all Herod's deſigns had ſucceeded according to his hopes, he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion that any trouble could ariſe in his kingdom, becauſe he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they ſtood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his puniſhments, as by the provident care he had ſhewed towards them, after the moſt magnanimous manner, when they were under their diſtreſſes: But ſtill he took care to have external ſecurity for his government as a fortreſs againſt his ſubjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindneſs; and he cultivated a ſeaſonable good underſtanding with their governors, and beſtowed preſents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and uſing his magnificent diſpoſition, ſo as his kingdom might be the better ſecured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then, this magnificent temper of his, and that ſubmiſſive behaviour and liberality which he exerciſed towards Cæſar, and the moſt powerful men of Rome, obliged him to tranſgreſs the cuſtoms of his nation, and to ſet aſide many of their laws, and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples; * not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden to us to pay any honour to images, or repreſentations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks, but ſtill he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bonds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews

* One may here take notice, that how tyrannical and extravagant ſoever Herod were in himſelf, and in his Grecian cities, as to thoſe plays, and ſhews, and temples for idolatry, mentioned above ch. viii. § 1. and here alſo, yet durſt even he introduce very few of them into the cities of the Jews, who, as Joſephus here notes would not even then have borne them, ſo zealous were they ſtill for many of the laws of Moſes, even under ſo tyrannical a government as this was of Herod the Great; which tyrannical government puts me naturally in mind of Dean Prideaux's boneſt reflection upon the like ambition after ſuch tyrannical power in Pompey and Cæſar: "One of theſe, [ſays he, at the year 60], could not bear an equal, nor the other a ſuperior; and through this ambitious humour and thirſt after more power in theſe two men, the whole Roman empire being divided into two oppoſite factions, there was produced hereby the moſt deſtructive war that ever afflicted it; and the like folly too much reigns in all other places. Could about thirty men be perſuaded to live at home in peace without enterprizing upon the right of each other, for the vain glory of conqueſt, and the enlargement of power, the whole world might be at quiet; but their ambition, their follies, and their humour, leading them conſtantly to encroach upon and quarrel with each other, they involve all that are under them in the miſchiefs thereof; and many thouſands are they which yearly periſh by it; ſo that it may almoſt raiſe a doubt, whether the benefit which the world receives from government be ſufficient to make amends for the calamities which it ſuffers from the follies, miſtakes, and mal-adminiſtrations of thoſe that manage it."

for theſe things was this, that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of the others, in order to pleaſe Cæſar, and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewiſh cuſtoms ſo much in his eye as he had the honour of thoſe Romans, while yet he had himſelf entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to poſterity; whence it was that he was ſo zealous in building ſuch fine cities, and ſpent ſuch vaſt ſums of money upon them.

6. Now upon his obſervation of a place near the ſea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he ſet about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white ſtone. He alſo adorned it with moſt ſumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greateſt and moſt laborious work of all, he adorned it with an haven, that was always free from the waves of the ſea. Its largeneſs was not leſs than the Pyræum [at Athens,] and had towards the city a double ſtation for the ſhips. It was of excellent workmanſhip; and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itſelf was not ſuitable to ſuch noble ſtructures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expences. This city is ſituate in Phenicia, in the paſſage by ſea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are leſſer maritime cities and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous ſouth winds that beat upon them, which rolling the ſands that come from the ſea againſt the ſhores, do not admit of ſhips lying in their ſtation, but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the ſea itſelf. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out ſuch a compaſs towards the land as might be ſufficient for an haven, wherein the great ſhips might lie in ſafety; and this he effected by letting down vaſt ſtones of above fifty feet in length, not leſs than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep, and as ſome were leſſer, ſo were others bigger than thoſe dimenſions. This mole which he built by the ſea ſide was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was oppoſed to the current of the waves, ſo as to keep off thoſe waves which were to break upon them, and ſo was called Procymatia, or the firſt breaker of the waves, but the other half had upon it a wall, with ſeveral towers, the largeſt of which was named Druſus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Druſus, the ſon-in-law of Cæſar, who died young. There were alſo a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. There was alſo before them a key [or landing-place,] which ran round the entire haven, and was a moſt agreeable walk to ſuch as had a mind to that exerciſe; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which ſide was the ſtilleſt of the winds

of all in this place: And the baſis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, ſupported a round turret, which was made very ſtrong, in order to reſiſt the greateſt waves, while on the right hand, as you enter ſtood two vaſt ſtones, and thoſe each of them larger than the turret, which were over againſt them: Theſe ſtood upright, and were joined together. Now there was edifices all along the circular haven, made of the politeſt ſtone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was ſeen a great way off by thoſe that were ſailing for that haven, and had in it two ſtatutes, the one of Rome, the other of Cæſar. As the city itſelf was called Ceſarea, which was alſo itſelf built of fine materials, and was of a fine ſtructure; nay, the very ſubterranean vaults and cellars had no leſs of architecture beſtowed on them than had the building above ground. Some of theſe vaults carried things at even diſtances to the haven and to the ſea, but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the reſt together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with eaſe, and the ſea itſelf, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and waſhed it all clean. Herod alſo built therein a theatre of ſtone; and on the ſouth quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre alſo, capable of holding a vaſt number of men, and conveniently ſituated for a proſpect to the ſea. So this city was thus finiſhed in * twelve years; during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work, and to pay the charges that were neceſſary.

CHAP. X.

How Herod ſent his Sons to Rome; how alſo he was accuſed by Zenodorus, and the Gadarens, but was cleared of what they accuſed him of, and withal gained to himſelf the good will of Cæſar. Concerning the Phariſees, the Eſſens, and Manahem.

§ 1. WHEN Herod was engaged in ſuch matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaſte [Samaria,] he reſolved to ſend his ſons Alexander and Ariſtobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Cæſar; who, when they came thither, lodged at the houſe of † Pollio, who was very fond of Herod's friendſhip: And they had leave to lodge in Cæſar's own palace, for he received theſe ſons of Herod with all hu-

* Ceſarea being here ſaid to be rebuilt and adorned in twelve years, and ſoon afterwards in ten years, Antiq. B. XVI. ch. v. § 1 there muſt be a miſtake in one of the places as to the true number, but which of them it is hard poſitively to determine.

† This Pollio, with whom Herod's ſons lived at Rome, was not Pollio the Phariſee, already mentioned by Joſephus, ch. i. § 1 and again preſently after this, ch. x § 4. but Aſinius Pollio the Roman, as Spanheim here obſerves.

manity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his ſons he pleaſed; and beſides all this, he beſtowed on him Trachon and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on theſoccaſion following: One * Zenodorus had hired what was called the houſe of Lyſanias, who, as he was not ſatisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachones, and ſo procured himſelf a regular income, for the inhabitants of thoſe places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damaſcenes, while Zenodorus did not reſtrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired. Now, as the neighbouring people were hereby great ſufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then preſident [of Syria,] and entreated him to write to Cæſar about this injuſtice of Zenodorus. When theſe matters were laid before Cæſar, he wrote back to Varro to deſtroy thoſe neſts of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that ſo by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer diſturbed with theſe doings of the Trachonites, for it was not an eaſy thing to reſtrain them, ſince this way of robbery had been their uſual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, becauſe they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their poſſeſſion, but only ſome receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together: However, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themſelves, and were able to make great reſiſtance, by iſſuing out on the ſudden againſt any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large and made very wide; but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unleſs any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for theſe roads are not ſtrait, but have ſeveral revolutions. But when theſe men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their cuſtom is to prey one upon another, inſomuch that no ſort of injuſtice comes amiſs to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Cæſar, and was come into this country, he procured ſkiltul guides, and put a ſtop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietneſs to the neighbouring people.

2. Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the firſt place, becauſe his principality was taken away from him, and ſtill more ſo, becauſe he envied Herod, who had gotten it; ſo he went up to Rome to accuſe him, but returned back again without ſucceſs. Now Agrippa was [about this time] ſent to ſucceed Cæſar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian

* The character of this Zenodorus is ſo like that of a famous robber of the ſame name in Strabo, and that about this very country, and about this very time alſo, that I think Dr. Hudſon hardly need to have put a *perhaps* to his determination that they were the ſame.

ſea upon whom Herod light when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, ſome of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accuſed Herod, whom he ſent back bound to the king, without giving them the hearing: But ſtill the Arabians, who of old bare ill will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raiſe a ſedition in his dominions, and, as they thought upon a more juſtifiable occaſion; for Zenodorus, deſpairing already of ſucceſs, as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies,] by ſelling to thoſe Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Cæſar, they conteſted the point with Herod, as unjuſtly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incurſions upon him, and ſometimes by attempting force againſt him, and ſometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they perſuaded the poorer ſoldiers to help them, and were troubleſome to him, out of a conſtant hope that they ſhould reduce the people to raiſe a ſedition; in which deſigns thoſe that are in the moſt miſerable circumſtances of life, are ſtill the moſt earneſt: And although Herod had been a great while appriſed of theſe attempts, yet did not he indulge any ſeverity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

3. Now when Herod had already reigned ſeventeen years, Cæſar came into Syria; at which time the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamoured againſt Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. Theſe reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they ſhould be ſevered from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Cæſar's province. The Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no ſmall cry againſt him, and that the more boldly, becauſe thoſe that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not puniſhed by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm, for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almoſt inexorable in puniſhing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elſewhere. And while they accuſed Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and ſubverſions of temples, he ſtood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However, Cæſar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindneſs to him, upon this diſturbance by the multitude: And indeed theſe things were alleged the firſt day, but the hearing proceeded no farther; for as the Gadarens ſaw the inclination of Cæſar and of his aſſeſſors, and expected, as they had reaſon to do, that they ſhould be delivered up to the king, ſome of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night

time, and ſome of them threw themſelves down precipices, and others of them caſt themſelves into the river, and deſtroyed themſelves of their own accord; which accidents ſeemed a ſufficient condemnation of the raſhneſs and crimes they had been guilty of: Whereupon Cæſar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accuſed of. Another happy accident there was, which was a farther great advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly burſt, and a great quantity of blood iſſued from him in his ſickneſs, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria: So Cæſar beſtowed his country, which was no ſmall one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha and Paneas, and the country round about. He alſo made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they ſhould do every thing with his approbation; and, in ſhort, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vaſt Roman empire, firſt Cæſar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite, Cæſar preferred no one to Herod beſides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod beſides Cæſar. And when he had acquired ſuch freedom, he begged of Cæſar a tetrarchy * for his brother Pheroras, while he did himſelf beſtow upon him a revenue of an hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in caſe he came to any harm himſelf his brother might be in ſafety, and that his ſons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Cæſar to the ſea, and was returned home, he built him a moſt beautiful temple, of the whiteſt ſtone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called *Panium*. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiouſly deep, and full of a ſtill water: Over it hangs a vaſt mountain; and under the caverns ariſe the ſprings of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, ſtill farther, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cæſar.

4. At which time Herod releaſed to his ſubjects the third part of their taxes, under pretence indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had: but the main reaſon was, to recover their good will, which he now wanted, for they were uneaſy at him, becauſe of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the diſſolution of their religion, and of the diſuſe of their own cuſtoms; and the people every where talked againſt him, like thoſe that were ſtill more provoked and diſturbed at his procedure: Againſt which diſcontents he greatly guarded himſelf, and took away the opportunities

* By *tetrarchy* properly and originally denoted the fourth part of an entire kingdom or country, and a *tetrarch* one that was a ruler of ſuch a fourth part, which always implies ſomewhat leſs extent of dominion and power than belonging to a kingdom and to a king.

they might have to disturb them, and enjoined them to be always at work; nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together or to walk, or eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were caught, they were severely punished; and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set every where, both in the city, and in the roads, who watched those that met together; nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government; and as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways, but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good will, and continue certainly so to do in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them, but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made way with them. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call *Pythagoreans*, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essens in such honours, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will shew the opinion men had of these Essens.

Now there was one of these Essens, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man, but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the reasoning for thee, that thou love justice, [towards men,] and pi-

ety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such an one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them and punish thee for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, how long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign, wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him farther, Whether he should reign ten years or not? he replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years," but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essens. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be, and to declare what hath happened among us, because many of the Essens have by their excellent virtue been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; and also concerning that Tower which he called Antonia.

§ 1. AND now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the *temple of God, and made it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first

* We may here observe, that the fancy of the modern Jews in calling this temple, which was really the *third* of their temples, the *second* temple, followed so long by later Christians, seems to be without any solid foundation. The reason why the Christians here follow the Jews, is, because the prophecy of Haggai ii. 6—9. which they expound of the Messiah's coming to the second or Zorobabel's temple, of which they suppose this of Herod's to be only a continuation, which is meant, I think, of his coming to the *fourth* and *last* temple, or to that future largest and most glorious one described by Ezekiel: Whence I take the former notion, how general soever, to be a great mistake. See Lit. Accomp. of Prophecy, p. 25.

by making a ſpeech to them. and then ſet about the work itſelf; ſo he called them together, and ſpake thus to them: "I think I need not ſpeak to you, my countrymen, about ſuch other works as I have done ſince I came to the kingdom, although I may ſay they have been performed in ſuch a manner as to bring more ſecurity to you than glory to myſelf; for I have neither been negligent in the moſt difficult times about what tended to eaſe your neceſſities, nor have the buildings I have made been ſo proper to preſerve me as yourſelves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's aſſiſtance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happineſs which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities that we have lately acquired, which we have erected, and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it ſeems to me a needleſs taſk to enumerate them to you, ſince you well know them yourſelves; but as to that undertaking which I have a mind to ſet about at preſent, and which will be a work of the greateſt piety, and excellence that can poſſibly be undertaken by us, I will now declare it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they were returned from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty, yet does it want ſixty cubits of its largeneſs in altitude; for ſo much did that firſt temple which Solomon built exceed this temple; nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher; for they were Cyrus, and Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, who determined the meaſures for its rebuilding; and it hath been by reaſon of the ſubjection of thoſe fathers of ours to them and to their poſterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this pious edifice, nor could raiſe it to its ancient altitude; but ſince I am now by God's will, your governor, and I have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches, and large revenues, and what is the principal thing of all, I am at amity with, and well regarded by the Romans, who, if I may ſo ſay, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavour to correct that imperfection, which hath ariſen from the neceſſity of our affairs, and the ſlavery we have been under formerly, and to make a thankful return after the moſt pious manner, to God for what bleſſings I have received from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering his temple as complete as I am able."

2. And this was the ſpeech which Herod made to them; but ſtill this ſpeech affrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them, and becauſe it ſeemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a damp upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the

vaſtneſs of the undertaking to be ſuch as could hardly be accompliſhed. But while they were in this diſpoſition, the king encouraged them, and told them, "He would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again." And as he promiſed them this before hand, ſo he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thouſand waggons, that were to bring ſtones for the building, and choſe out ten thouſand of the moſt ſkilful workmen, and bought a thouſand ſacerdotal garments for as many of the prieſts, and had ſome of them taught the arts of ſtone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build, but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length an hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty], upon the * ſinking of their foundations, fell down; and this part it was that we reſolved to raiſe again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of ſtones that were white and ſtrong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole ſtructure, as was alſo the ſtructure of the royal cloiſter, was on each ſide much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were viſible to thoſe that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to ſuch as lived over againſt them, and thoſe that approached to them. The temple had doors alſo at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the ſame height with the temple itſelf. They were adorned with embroidered vails, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven; and over theſe, but under the crown-work, was ſpread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeneſs and fine workmanſhip of which was a ſurpriſing ſight to the ſpectators, to ſee what vaſt materials there were, and with what great ſkill the workmanſhip was done. He alſo encompaſſed the entire temple with very large cloiſters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger ſums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it ſeemed that

* Some of our modern ſtudents in architecture have made a ſtrange blunder here, when they imagine that Joſephus affirms the entire foundations of the temple or holy houſe ſunk down into the rocky mountain on which it ſtood no leſs than 20 cubits, whereas he is clear that they were the foundations of the *additional* 20 cubits only above the hundred, (made perhaps weak on purpoſe, and only for ſhew and grandeur) that ſunk or fell down, as Dr. Hudſon rightly underſtands him: Nor is the thing itſelf poſſible in the other ſenſe. Agrippa's preparation for building the inner parts of the temple 20 cubits higher, (hiſtory of the War, B V. ch. i. § 5.) muſt in all probability refer to this matter, ſince Joſephus ſays here, that this which had fallen down was deſigned to be raiſed up again under, Nero, under whom Agrippa made that preparation. But what Joſephus ſays preſently, that Solomon was the firſt King of the Jews, appears by the parallel place, Antiq. B. XX. ch. ix. § 7. Vol. II. and other places, to be meant only the firſt of David's poſterity, and the firſt builder of the temple.

no one elſe had ſo greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloiſters, which wall was itſelf the moſt prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky aſcent, that declined by degrees towards the eaſt parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the firſt of our kings, by divine revelation encompaſſed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanſhip upwards, and round the top of it. He alſo built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompaſſed by a deep valley; and at the ſouth ſide he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included ſome of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeneſs of the ſquare edifice, and its altitude, were immenſe, and till the vaſtneſs of the ſtones in the front were plainly viſible on the outſide, yet ſo that the inward parts were faſtened together with iron, and preſerved the joints immoveable for all future times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itſelf to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward ſurface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper ſurface, and a ſmooth level alſo. This hill was walled all round, and in compaſs four furlongs, [the diſtance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: But within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of ſtone alſo, having, on the eaſt quarter, a double cloiſter, of the ſame length with the wall; in the midſt of which was the temple itſelf. This cloiſter looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times: And round about the entire temple were fixed the ſpoils taken from barbarous nations; all theſe had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of thoſe he had taken from the Arabians.

4. Now on the north ſide [of the temple] was built a citadel whoſe walls were ſquare, and ſtrong, and of extraordinary firmneſs. This citadel was built by the kings of the Aſamonean race, who were alſo high-prieſts before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were repoſited the veſtments of the high-prieſt, which the high-prieſt only put on at the time when he was to offer ſacrifice. Theſe veſtments king Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Cæſar; under whoſe reign Vitellius, the preſident of Syria, when he once came to Jeruſalem, and had been moſt magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them ſome requital for the kindneſs they had ſhewed him, ſo, upon their petition to have thoſe holy veſtments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæſar, who granted his requeſt: And this their power over the ſacerdotal veſtments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that,

Caſſius Longinus, who was preſident of Syria, and Cuſpius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to repoſit thoſe veſtments in the tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews ſent ambaſſadors to Claudius Cæſar, to intercede with him for them; upon whoſe coming, king Agrippa jun. being then at Rome, aſked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor, who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the ſeal of the high-prieſt, and of the treaſures of the temple; which treaſures, the day before a feſtival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own ſeal, and received the veſtments; and again, when the feſtival was over, they brought it to the ſame place, and ſhewed the captain of the temple guards their ſeal, which correſponded with his ſeal, and repoſited them there. And that theſe things were ſo, the afflictions that happened to us afterward [about them] are ſufficient evidence: But for the tower itſelf, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to ſecure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

5. Now in the weſtern quarters of the incloſure of the temple there were four gates; the firſt led to the kings palace, and went to a paſſage over the intermediate valley, two more led to the ſuburbs of the city, and the laſt led to the other city, where the road deſcended down into the valley by a great number of ſteps, and thence up again by the aſcent, for the city lay over againſt the temple in the manner of a theatre, and was encompaſſed with a deep valley along the entire ſouth quarter, but the fourth front of the temple, which was ſouthward, had indeed itſelf gates in its middle, as alſo it had the royal cloiſters, with three walks which reached in length from the eaſt valley unto that on the weſt, for it was impoſſible it ſhould reach any farther: And this cloiſter deſerves to be mentioned better than any other under the ſun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be ſeen, if you looked from above into the depth, this farther vaſtly high elevation of the cloiſter ſtood upon that height, inſomuch, that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both thoſe altitudes, he would be giddy, while his ſight could not reach to ſuch an immenſe depth. This cloiſter had pillars that ſtood in four rows one over againſt the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [alſo was built of ſtone]; and the thickneſs of each pillar was ſuch, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-ſeven feet, with a double ſpiral at its baſis; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was

an hundred and ſixty-two. Their chapiters were made with ſculptures after the Corinthian order, and cauſed an amazement [to the ſpectators], by reaſon of the grandeur of the whole. Theſe four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloiſter; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the ſame manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet, but the breadth of the middle part of the cloiſter was one and an half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than thoſe on each ſide; but the roofs were adorned with deep ſculptures in wood, repreſenting many ſorts of figures: The middle was much higher than the reſt, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, reſting upon pillars, that were interwoven into it, and that front was all of poliſhed ſtone, inſomuch, that its fineneſs, to ſuch as had not ſeen it was greatly amazing. Thus was the firſt incloſure. In the midſt of which, and not far from it, was the ſecond, to be gone up to by a few ſteps: This was encompaſſed by a ſtone wall for a partition, with an inſcription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now, this inner incloſure had on its ſouthern and northern quarters three gates [equally] diſtant one from another; but on the eaſt quarter, towards the ſun riſing, there was one large gate, through which ſuch as were pure came in, together with their wives, but the temple farther inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but ſtill more inward was there a third [court of the] temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the prieſts alone to enter. The temple itſelf was within this; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our ſacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into * none of theſe three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden, becauſe he was not a prieſt. However, he took care of the cloiſters, and the outer incloſures, and theſe he built in eight years.

6. But the temple itſelf was built by the prieſts in a year and ſix months: Upon which all the people were full of joy; and preſently they returned thanks, in the firſt place, to God, and in the next place, for the alacrity, the king had ſhewed. They feaſted, and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: And for the king, he ſacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the reſt every one according to his ability: The number of which ſacrifices is not poſſible to ſet down, for it cannot be that we ſhould truly relate it; for at the ſame time with this celebra-

* *Into none of theſe three did King Herod enter*, i. e. 1. not into the court of the prieſts; 2. nor into the holy houſe itſelf; 3. nor into the ſeparate place belonging to the altar, as the words following imply, for none but prieſts, or their attendants the Levites, might come into any of them. See Antiq. B. XVI ch. iv. §6. when Herod goes into the temple, and makes a ſpeech in it to the people, but that could only be into the court of Iſrael, whether the people could come to hear him.

tion for the work about the temple fell alſo the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old cuſtom as a feſtival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of them both made the feſtival moſt illuſtrious.

7. There was alſo an occult paſſage built for the king: It led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eaſtern gate; over which he alſo erected for himſelf a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a ſubterraneous aſcent to the temple, in order to guard againſt any ſedition which might be made by the people againſt their kings. It is alſo * reported, that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but that the ſhowers fell in the nights, ſo that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the manifeſtations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

* This tradition which Joſephus here mentions, as delivered down from fathers to their children, of this particular remarkable circumſtance relating to the building of Herod's temple, is a demonſtration that ſuch its building was a known thing in Judea in his time. He was born but 46 years after it is related to have been finiſhed, and might himſelf have ſeen and ſpoken with ſome of the builders themſelves, and with a great number of thoſe that had ſeen it building. The doubt therefore about the truth of this hiſtory, of the pulling down and rebuilding of this temple by Herod, which ſome weak people have indulged, was not then much greater than it ſoon may be, whether or not our St. Paul's church in London was burnt down in the fire of London *A. D.* 1666, and rebuilt by Sir Chriſtopher Wren a little afterward.

BOOK XVI.

Containing the interval of twelve years.

[*From the finiſhing of the Temple by* HEROD, *to the Death of* ALEXANDER *and* ARISTOBULUS.]

CHAP. I.

A law of Herod's about Thieves. Salome and Pheroras calumniate Alexander and Ariſtobulus, upon their return from Rome, for whom yet Herod provides Wives.

§ 1. AS king Herod was very zealous in the adminiſtration of his entire government, and deſirous to put a ſtop to particular acts of injuſtice which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himſelf, to expoſe houſe-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which puniſhment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a diſſolution of the cuſtoms of our forefathers, for this ſlavery to foreigners, and ſuch as did not live after the manner of Jews, and this neceſſity that they were under to do whatſoever ſuch men ſhould command, was an offence againſt our religious ſettlement, rather than a puniſhment to ſuch as were found to have offended, ſuch a puniſhment being avoided in our original laws; for thoſe laws ordain, that the thief ſhall reſtore fourfold: And that if he have not ſo much, he ſhall be ſold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor ſo that he be under perpetual ſlavery, for he muſt have been releaſed after ſix years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a ſevere and illegal puniſhment, ſeemed to be a piece of inſolence in Herod, when he did not act as a king but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuouſly, and without any regard to his ſubjects did he venture to introduce ſuch a puniſhment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accuſation, and an occaſion of the hatred he lay under.

2. Now at this time it was that he ſailed to Italy, as very deſirous to meet with Cæſar, and to ſee his ſons who lived at Rome: And Cæſar was not only very obliging to him in other reſpects, but delivered him his ſons again, that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themſelves in the ſciences; but as ſoon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very deſirous to ſee them,

and they became conſpicuous among them all, as adorned with great bleſſings of fortune, and having the countenances of perſons of royal dignity. So they ſoon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's ſiſter, and to ſuch as had raiſed calumnies againſt Mariamne; for they were ſuſpicious, that when theſe came to the government, they ſhould be puniſhed for the wickedneſs they had been guilty of againſt their mother; ſo they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raiſe calumnies againſt them alſo. They gave it out that they were not pleaſed with their father's company, becauſe he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converſe with their mother's murderer. Now, by carrying theſe ſtories, that had indeed a true foundation [in the fact,] but were only built on probabilities, as to the preſent accuſation, they were able to do them miſchief, and to make Herod take away that kindneſs from his ſons which he had before borne to them, for they did not ſay theſe things to him openly, but ſcattered abroad ſuch words among the reſt of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced [at laſt] to hate them, and which natural affection itſelf, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the ſuſpicions and calumnies his ſons lay under: So he reſpected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age, ſuitable thereto. To Ariſtobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome's daughter, and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

How Herod twice ſailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the complaint of the Jews in Ionia, againſt the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them.

§ 1. WHEN Herod had diſpatched theſe affairs, and he underſtood that Marcus Agrippa had ſailed again out of Italy into Aſia, he made haſte to him, and beſought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might juſtly expect from one that had been his gueſt, and was his friend. This requeſt he greatly preſſed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might pleaſe him. He entertained him in his new built cities, and ſhewed him the edifices he had built, and provided all ſorts of the beſt and moſt coſtly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebaſte and Ceſarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortreſſes which he had erected at great expences, Alexandrium and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He alſo conducted him to the city Jeruſalem, where all the

people met him in their feſtival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa alſo offered an hecatomb of ſacrifices to God; and feaſted the people, without omitting any of the greateſt dainties that could be gotten. He alſo took ſo much pleaſure there, that he abode many days with him, and would willingly have ſtaid longer, but that the ſeaſon of the year made him make haſte away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not ſafe to go to ſea later, and yet he was of neceſſity to return again to Ionia.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had beſtowed on him, and on the principal of thoſe that were with him, many preſents; but king Herod, when he had paſſed the winter in his own dominions, made haſte to get to him again in the ſpring, when he knew he deſigned to go to a campaign at the Boſphorus. So when he had ſailed by Rhodes, and by Cos, he touched at Leſbos, as thinking he ſhould have overtaken Agrippa there, but he was taken ſhort here by a north wind, which hindered his ſhip from going to the ſhore; ſo he continued many days at Chius, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he ſaw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, ſo was it not ſo eaſy to rebuild that as it was the reſt, yet did he furniſh a ſum not only large enough for that purpoſe, but what was more than ſufficient to finiſh the building; and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that ſo the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he ſailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was ſailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haſte poſſible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was ſeen ſailing by the ſhipmen moſt unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly ſalutations there were between them, inſomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greateſt marks of the king's kindneſs and humanity towards him poſſible, ſince the king had come ſo long a voyage, and at a very proper ſeaſon for his aſſiſtance, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly Herod was all in all to Agrippa, in the management of the war, and a great aſſiſtant in civil affairs, and in giving him counſel as to particular matters. He was alſo a pleaſant companion for him when he relaxed himſelf, and a joint partaker with him in all things; in troubles becauſe of his kindneſs, and in proſperity becauſe of the reſpect Agrippa had for him. Now as ſoon as thoſe affairs of Pontus were finiſhed, for whoſe ſake Agrippa was ſent thither, they did not think fit to return by ſea, but paſſed thro' Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; they then travelled thence over great Phrygia, and came to Epheſus, and then they ſailed

from Epheſus to Samos. And indeed the king beſtowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they ſtood in need of them; for as for thoſe that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he ſupplied the former himſelf out of his own expences: He alſo became an interceſſor with Agrippa for all ſuch as ſought after his favour, and he brought things ſo about, that the petitioners failed in none of their ſuits to him, Agrippa being himſelf of a good diſpoſition, and of great generoſity, and ready to grant all ſuch requeſts as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight alſo, and ſtill excited Agrippa, who was himſelf ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry, and paid what money the people of Chius owed Cæſar's procurators, and diſcharged them of their tributes; and helped all others, according as their ſeveral neceſſities required.

3. But now, when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and laying hold of the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they ſuffered, while they were not permitted to uſe their own laws, but were compelled to proſecute their law ſuits, by the ill uſage of the judges upon their holy days and were deprived of the money they uſed to lay up at Jeruſalem, and were forced into the army, and upon ſuch other offices as obliged them to ſpend their ſacred money; from which burdens they always uſed to be freed by the Romans, who had ſtill permitted them to live according to their own laws. When this clamour was made, the king deſired of Agrippa that he would hear their cauſe, and aſſigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for thoſe their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and ſuch of the kings and rulers as were there to be his aſſeſſors, Nicolaus ſtood up, and pleaded for the Jews, as follows: 'It is of neceſſity incumbent on ſuch as are in diſtreſs to have recourſe to thoſe that have it in their power to free them from thoſe injuries they lie under; and for thoſe that now are complainants, they approach you with great aſſurance; for as they have formerly often obtained your favour, ſo far as they have even wiſhed to have it, they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that thoſe favours you have already granted them may not be taken away from them. We have received theſe favours from you, who alone have power to grant them, but have them taken from us by ſuch as are no greater than ourſelves, and by ſuch as we know are as much ſubjects as we are; and certainly, if we have been vouchſafed great favours, it is to our commendation, who have obtained them, as having been found de-

ſerving of ſuch great favours; and if thoſe favours be but ſmall ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us: And for thoſe that are the hinderance of the Jews, and uſe them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow thoſe to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themſelves have borne their teſtimony, and the donors, while they deſire thoſe favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one ſhould aſk theſe Gentiles themſelves, which of the two things they would chooſe to part with, their lives, or the cuſtoms of their forefathers, their ſolemnities, their ſacrifices, their feſtivals, which they celebrated in honour of thoſe they ſuppoſe to be gods? I know very well that they would chooſe to ſuffer any thing whatſoever rather than a diſſolution of any of the cuſtoms: of their forefathers; for a great many of them have rather choſen to go to war on that account, as very ſolicitous not to tranſgreſs in thoſe matters: And indeed we take an eſtimate of that happineſs which all mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worſhip as our own inſtitutions require, and yet to live [in peace]; and although they would not be thus treated themſelves, yet do they endeavour to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an inſtance of impiety, profanely to diſſolve the religious ſolemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the obſervation of their own toward their gods. And let us now conſider the one of theſe practices: Is there any people or city, or community of men, to whom your government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greateſt bleſſing? Is there any one that can deſire to make void the favours they have granted? No one is certainly ſo mad; for there are no men but ſuch as have been partakers of their favours, both public and private; and indeed thoſe that take away what you have granted, can have no aſſurance, but every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them alſo; which grants of yours can yet never be ſufficiently valued; for if they conſider the old governments under kings, together with your preſent government, beſides the great number of benefits which this government hath beſtowed on them, in order to their happineſs, this is inſtead of all the reſt, that they appear to be no longer in a ſtate of ſlavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we deſire, even when we are in the beſt circumſtances, are not ſuch as deſerve to be envied, for we are indeed in a proſperous ſtate by your means but this is only in common with others; and it is no more than this which we deſire, to preſerve our religion without any prohibition, which, as it appears not in itſelf a privilege to be envied us, ſo it is for the advantage of thoſe that grant it to us: For if the divinity delights in being honoured, it muſt delight in thoſe that permit them to be honoured; And there are none of our cuſtoms

which are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal those injunctions of ours, by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men: And * the seventh day we set apart for labour; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws, we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any one therefore examine into our observances, he will find they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise, insomuch, that those who have received them, cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honour they pay to the length of time they have religiously enjoyed them, and observed them. Now our adversaries take these our privileges away in the way of injustice: They violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered to God, and called sacred money, and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner; and they impose tributes upon us, and bring us before tribunals on holy days, and then require other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, and for their own advantage, but because they would put an affront on our religion, of which they are conscious as well as we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and, to them, involuntary hatred, for your government over all is one, tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of ill will among such as are disposed to it. This is therefore what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from making use of our own customs; nor be dispoiled of our goods; nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do, for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have formerly been granted us by you: And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them, which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had experience of our fidelity towards you, which ought to be valued, though no such fidelity had been; for you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost to all men, and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your government is become a great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enumerate the prosperity you have conferred on every nation, which they possess by your means, he could never put an end to his discourse; but that we may demonstrate that we are not un-

* We may here observe the ancient practice of the Jews, of dedicating the Sabbath-day not to idleness, but to the learning their sacred rites and religious customs, and to the meditation on the law of Moses. The like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus also against Apion, B. I. § 22.

worthy of all thoſe advantages we have obtained, it will be ſufficient for us to ſay nothing of other things, but to ſpeak freely of this king who now governs us, and is now one of thy aſſeſſors: And indeed in what inſtance of good-will, as to your houſe, hath he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it hath he omitted? What token of honour hath he not deviſed? What occaſion for his aſſiſtance of you hath he not regarded at the very firſt? What hindereth, therefore, but that your kindneſſes may be as numerous as his ſo great benefits to you have been. It may alſo perhaps be fit not here to paſs over in ſilence the valour of his father Antipater, who, when Cæſar made an expedition into Egypt, aſſiſted him with two thouſand armed men, and proved inferior to none, neither in the battles on land, nor in the management of the navy; and what need I ſay any thing of how great weight thoſe ſoldiers were at that juncture? or how many, and how great preſents they were vouchſafed by Cæſar? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epiſtles which Cæſar wrote to the ſenate; and how Antipater had honours, and the freedom of the city of Rome, beſtowed upon him, for theſe are demonſtrations both that we have received theſe favours by our own deſerts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reaſon to hope for them, though they had not been given us before, both out of regard to our king's diſpoſition towards you, and your diſpoſition towards him. And farther, we have been informed by thoſe Jews that were there, with what kindneſs thou came into our country, and how thou offered the moſt perfect ſacrifices to God, and honoured him with remarkable vows, and how thou gave the people a feaſt, and accepted of their own hoſpitable preſents to thee. We ought to eſteem all theſe kind entertainments made both by our nation and our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of ſo much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendſhip which thou haſt returned to the Jewiſh nation, and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of theſe things in the preſence of the king, now ſitting by thee, and make our requeſt for no more but this, that what you have given us yourſelves, you will not ſee taken away by others from us."

5. When Nicolaus had made this ſpeech, there was no oppoſition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of juſtice, but an interceſſion to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defence of themſelves, or deny what it was ſuppoſed they had done. Their pretence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country they were entirely unjuſt to them, [in not joining in their worſhip] but they demonſtrated their generoſity in this, that though they worſhipped according to their own inſtitutions they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived

that they had been oppreſſed by violence, he made this anſwer: "That on account of Herod's good will and friendſhip, he was ready to grant the Jews whatſoever they ſhould aſk him, and that their requeſts ſeemed to him in themſelves juſt; and that if they requeſted any thing farther he ſhould not ſcruple to grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that, while their requeſt was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the obſervation of their own cuſtoms without any one's offering them the leaſt injury." And when he had ſaid thus, he diſſolved the aſſembly: Upon which Herod ſtood up, and ſaluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind diſpoſition he ſhewed to them. Agrippa alſo took this in a very obliging manner, and ſaluted him again, embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Leſbos, but the King determined to ſail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he purſued his voyage, and landed at Ceſarea in a few day's time, as having favourable winds; from whence he went to Jeruſalem, and there gathered all the people together to an aſſembly, not a few being there out of the country alſo. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Aſia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He alſo told them of the entire good fortune he had met with, and how he had adminiſtered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage: And as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the laſt year. Accordingly they were ſo pleaſed with his favour and ſpeech to them, that they went their ways with great gladneſs, and wiſhed the King all manner of happineſs.

CHAP. III.

How great Diſturbances aroſe in Herod's Family on his preferring Antipater, his Eldeſt Son, before the reſt, till Alexander took that Injury very heinouſly.

§ 1. BUT now the affairs in Herod's family were in more diſorder, and became more ſevere upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Ariſtobulus], which deſcended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne]: And as ſhe fully had ſucceeded againſt their mother, ſo ſhe proceeded to that degree of madneſs and inſolence, as to endeavour that none of her poſterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had alſo ſomewhat of a bold and uneaſy diſpoſition towards their father, occaſioned by the remembrance of

what their mother had unjuſtly ſuffered, and by their own affectation of dominion The old grudge was alſo renewed; and they caſt reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malicious deſigns, and actually laid treacherous ſnares for them. Now, as for this hatred, it was equal on both ſides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different: For, as for the young men they were raſh, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were unexperienced enough to think it the moſt generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner; but the others did not take that method, but made uſe of calumnies after a ſubtile and a ſpiteful manner, ſtill provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldneſs might in time turn to the offering violence to their father, for inaſmuch as they were not aſhamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought ſhe ſuffered juſtly, theſe ſuppoſed that might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were but diſpatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of theſe diſcourſes, and, as is uſual in ſuch conteſts, the unſkilfulneſs of the young men was pitied, but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations ſhe laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct, for they who were ſo deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they ſaid both ſhe and themſelves were in a miſerable caſe, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly ſuch, and ſaid that they were themſelves in a pitiable caſe alſo, becauſe they were forced to live with thoſe that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

2. Theſe diſorders increaſed greatly, and the king's abſence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increaſe; but as ſoon as Herod was returned, and had made the fore-mentioned ſpeech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome let fall words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not ſpare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They alſo added another circumſtance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they ſhould be able by his means to come to Cæſar, and accuſe their father. Upon hearing ſuch things, Herod was immediately diſturbed; and indeed was the more aſtoniſhed, becauſe the ſame things were related to him by ſome others alſo. He then called to mind his former calamity, and conſidered that the diſorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from thoſe that were deareſt to him, or from his wife whom he loved ſo well; and ſuſpecting that his future troubles would ſoon be heavier and greater than thoſe that were paſt, he was in great confuſion of mind, for divine providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advanta-

ges for his happineſs, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were ſuch as he never expected to have met with and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both ſorts came upon him to ſuch a degree as no one could imagine and made it a doubtful queſtion, whether, upon the compariſon of both, he ought to have exchanged ſo great a ſucceſs of outward good things for ſo great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have choſen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had for a compenſation, never been poſſeſſed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus diſturbed and afflicted, in order to depreſs theſe young men, he brought to court another of his ſons, that was born to him when he was a private man: His name was *Antipater*; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleaſed, but rather with a deſign of depreſſing the inſolence of the ſons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his ſo that it might be for a warning to them, for this bold behaviour of theirs [he thought] would not be ſo great, if they were once perſuaded, that the ſucceſſion to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or muſt of neceſſity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagoniſt, and imagined that he made a good proviſion for diſcouraging their pride. and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper ſeaſon for expecting theſe to be of a better diſpoſition: But the event proved otherwiſe than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a ſhrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one ſingle deſign in his head, and that was to diſtreſs his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep cloſe to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them, and ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal againſt them ſhould adviſe him to purſue, that he might be continually more and more ſevere againſt them. Accordingly all the reports that were ſpread abroad came from him, while he avoided himſelf the ſuſpicion as if thoſe diſcoveries proceeded from him but he rather choſe to make uſe of thoſe perſons for his aſſiſtants that were unſuſpected, and ſuch as might be believed to ſpeak truth by reaſon of the good will he bore to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated a friendſhip with Antipater, in hopes of gaining ſomewhat by him, and theſe were the men who moſt of all perſuaded Herod, becauſe they appeared to ſpeak thus out of their good will to him: And while theſe joint accuſations, which from various foundations ſupported one another's veracity, the young men themſelves afforded farther occaſions to Antipater alſo: For they were obſerved to ſhed tears often, on account of the in-

jury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths, and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting juſtly by them! All which things were with an evil intention reſerved in memory by Antipater againſt a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increaſed the diſorders ſo much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at the imputations that were laid upon the ſons of Mariamne, and was deſirous to humble them, he ſtill increaſed the honour that he had beſtowed on Antipater; and was at laſt ſo overcome by his perſuaſions, that he brought his mother to court alſo. He alſo wrote frequently to Cæſar in favour of him, and more earneſtly recommended him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finiſhed his ten * years government in Aſia, Herod ſailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many preſents, that ſo he might become Cæſar's friend, inſomuch, that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

How during Antipater's abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Ariſtobulus before Cæſar and Accuſed them. Alexander's Defence of himſelf before Cæſar, and Reconciliation to his Father.

§ 1. AND now what happened during Antipater's abſence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren, for he had made a great figure in Rome, becauſe Herod had ſent recommendations of him to all his friends there, only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, leſt his father ſhould alter his mind, and entertain a moſt favourable opinion of the ſons of Mariamne; and as he had this in his mind, he did not deſiſt from his purpoſe, but continually ſent from Rome any ſuch ſtories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father againſt his brethren, under pretence indeed of a deep concern for his preſervation, but in truth, ſuch as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchaſe a greater hope of the ſucceſſion, which yet was al-

* This interval of ten years for the duration of Marcus Agrippa's government in Aſia, ſeems to be true, and agreeable to the Roman hiſtory. See Uſher's Annals at A. M. 3992.

ready great in itself: And thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill disposed towards the young men; but still, while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss, or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Cæsar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety; but as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Cæsar at the * city Aquilei: So when he came to the speech of Cæsar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: That "they were enemies to him; and by all the means they were able, did their endeavours to shew their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, after the most barbarous manner; that he had power from Cæsar to dispose of it, not by necessity but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him, while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life, if so be they may but deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted is their mind by time become out of their hatred to him; that whereas he had a long time borne this his misfortune, he was now compelled to lay it before Cæsar, and to pollute his ears with such language while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him? Or what hardships he hath ever laid upon them to make them complain of him? And how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he in a long time, and with great dangers had gained, and not allow him to keep it and dispose of it to him who should deserve best? And this with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such an one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such an one may gain so great a requital as that is: And that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it before hand, for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government; that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal au-

* Although Herod met Augustus at Aquilei, yet was this accusation of his sons deferred till they came to Rome, as § 3 assures us, and as we are particularly informed in the history of the War, B. I. ch xxiii. § 3 vol. III. though what he here says belonged distinctly to Alexander the elder brother, I mean his being brought to Rome, is here justly extended to both the brothers, and that not only in our copies, but in that of Zonaras also: Nor is there reason to doubt but they were both at this solemn hearing by Augustus, although the defence were made by Alexander alone, who was the eldest brother, and one that could speak very well.

thority, and the ſons of a king; what ornaments they wanted, with ſervants and delicate fare, and had married them into the moſt illuſtrious families, the one [Ariſtobulus] to his ſiſter's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus: And what was the greateſt favour of all, when their crimes were ſo very bad, and he had authority to puniſh them, yet had he not made uſe of it againſt them, but had brought them before Cæſar their common benefactor, and had not uſed the ſeverity which either as a father who had been impiouſly abuſed, or as king who had been aſſaulted treacherouſly, he might have done, he made them ſtand upon the level with him in judgment; that, however, it was neceſſary that all this ſhould not be paſſed over without puniſhment, nor himſelf live in the greateſt fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to ſee the light of the ſun after what they have done, although they ſhould eſcape at this time, ſince they had done the vileſt things, and would certainly ſuffer the greateſt puniſhments that ever were known among mankind."

2. Theſe were the accuſations which Herod laid with great vehemency againſt his ſons before Cæſar. Now, the young men, both while he was ſpeaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confuſion. Now, as to themſelves, they knew in their own conſcience they were innocent, but becauſe they were accuſed by their father they were ſenſible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, ſince, though they were at liberty to ſpeak their minds freely as the occaſion required, and might with force and earneſtneſs refute the accuſation, yet was it not now decent ſo to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they ſhould be able to ſpeak, and tears, and at length a deep groan followed, while they were afraid, that if they ſaid nothing, they ſhould ſeem to be in this difficulty from a conſciouſneſs of guilt, nor had they any defence ready, by reaſon of their youth, and the diſorder they were under; yet was not Cæſar unappriſed, when he looked upon them in the confuſion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not ariſe from any conſciouſneſs of great enormities, but from their unſkilfulneſs and modeſty. They were alſo commiſerated by thoſe that were there in particular, and they moved their father's affections in earneſt till he had much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they ſaw there was a kind diſpoſition ariſen both in him and in Cæſar, and that every one of the reſt did either ſhed tears, or at leaſt did all grieve with them, the one of them, whoſe name was *Alexander*, called to his father, and attempted to anſwer his accuſation, and ſaid, "O father, the benevolence thou haſt ſhewed to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure, for hadſt thou had any pernicious intentions about us thou hadſt not produced us here before the common ſaviour of all, for it was in thy power, both as a

king, and as a father, to punish the guilty, but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Cæsar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us, for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt: And if our open defence may be taken to be true we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in, but if this calumny so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our misfortune out of the former: But consider well whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously? For nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him: But a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible use to be made credible? Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? Or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? Though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of piety, often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried: Nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; but as to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? Yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? Yes; but not because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet are not we in hopes of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? While neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that: Nay, the religion of all

your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government, and from *entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee. But suppose we had made light of other dangers can any murderer go off unpunished, while Cæsar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious, or so thoughtless, as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but then what befel her might be an instruction to us to caution and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of discourse: Nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Cæsar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator between us, if thou, O father, canst bring thyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will give this reason for our own conduct, our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Cæsar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded, the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration which the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleaded for assistance, and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defence with dexterity and prudence; nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears, and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them hope of the best: And the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he

*Since some prejudiced men have indulged a wild suspicion, as we have supposed already, Antiq B. XV. ch. xi. § 7. that Josephus's history of Herod's rebuilding the temple is no better than a fable, it may not be amiss to take notice of this occasional clause in the speech of Alexander before his father Herod, in his and his brother's vindication, which mentions the temple as known by every body to have been built by Herod. See John ii 20. See also another speech of Herod's own to the young men that pulled down his golden eagle from the front of the temple, where he takes notice, "How the building of the temple cost him a vast sum; and that the Asamoneans, in those 125 years they held the government were not able to perform so great a work, to the honour of God, as this was". Antiq. B. XVII. ch. vi. § 3. vol. II.

wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Cæsar, after some delay, said, That "although young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them. He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons, for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve that their good will to one another, whereby those on both sides excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Cæsar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

5. Then did they return thanks to Cæsar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with an hypocritical pretence that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Cæsar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome: And Cæsar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes: And as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Cæsar said, "He would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons"

6. After this Herod returned to Judea again: But during his absence no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make. From thence Herod came to Judea and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done in this

his journey: "He alſo diſcourſed them about Cæſar's kindneſs to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done, as he thought it for his advantage other people ſhould be acquainted with. At laſt he turned his ſpeech to the admonition of his ſons; and exhorted thoſe that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord: And informed them, that his ſons were to reign after him; Antipater firſt, and then Alexander and Ariſtobulus, the ſons of Mariamne; but he deſired that at preſent they ſhould all have regard to himſelf, and eſteem him king and lord of all, ſince he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he muſt be the moſt ſkilful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children alſo. He farther told the rulers under him, and the ſoldiery, that in caſe they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy." And when he had ſaid this, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Which ſpeech was acceptable to the greateſt part of the audience, but not ſo to them all, for the contention among his ſons, and the hopes he had given them, occaſioned thoughts and deſires of innovations among them.

CHAP. V.

How Herod celebrated the Games that were to return every fifth year, upon the building of Ceſarea; and how he built and adorned many other places after a Magnificent manner; and did many other actions gloriouſly.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that Ceſarea Sebaſte, which he had built, was finiſhed. The entire building being accompliſhed in the tenth year, the ſolemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-ſecond olympiad: There was accordingly a great feſtival, and moſt ſumptuous preparations made preſently, in order to its dedication; for he had appointed a contention in muſic, and games to be performed naked: He had alſo gotten ready a great number of thoſe that fight ſingle combats, and of beaſts for the like purpoſe; horſe races alſo, and the moſt chargeable of ſuch ſports and ſhows as uſed to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He conſecrated this combat to Cæſar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He alſo ſent all ſorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent: Nay Julia, Cæſar's wife, ſent a great part of her moſt valuable furniture [from Rome,] inſomuch that he had no want of any thing: The ſum of them all was eſtimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city,

to ſee the ſhows, as well as the ambaſſadors whom other people ſent, on account of the benefits they had received [from Herod,] he entertained them all in the public inns and at public tables and with perpetual feaſts, this ſolemnity having in the day-time the diverſions of the fights, and in the night-time ſuch merry meetings as coſt vaſt ſums of money, and publicly demonſtrated the generoſity of his ſoul, for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatſoever had been done before of the ſame kind. And it is related that Cæſar and Agrippa often ſaid, That "the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatneſs of his ſoul, for that he deſerved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt alſo."

2. After this ſolemnity and theſe feſtivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharſaba, where he choſe out a fit place, both for plenty of water, and goodneſs of ſoil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompaſſed the city itſelf, and a grove of the beſt trees for magnitude was round about it: This he named Antipatris from his father Antipater. He alſo built upon another ſpot of ground above Jericho, of the ſame name with his mother, a place of great ſecurity, and very pleaſant for habitation, and called it Cypros. He alſo dedicated the fineſt monuments to his brother Phaſaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itſelf, not leſs than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phaſaelus, which was at once a part of the ſtrong defences of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceaſed, becauſe it bare his name. He alſo built a city of the ſame name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this alſo he called *Phaſaelis*.

3. But as for his other benefits, it is impoſſible to reckon them up, thoſe which he beſtowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he ſeems to have conferred, and that after a moſt plentiful manner, what would miniſter to many neceſſities, and the building of public works and gave them the money that was neceſſary to ſuch works as wanted it, to ſupport them upon the failure of their other revenues: But what was the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expences, and gave them a great number of talents of ſilver for the repair of their fleet. He alſo built the greateſt part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of * Nicopolis, at Actium: And for the Antioch-

* Dr. Hudſon here gives us the words of Suetonius concerning this Nicopolis, when Auguſtus rebuilt it: "And that the memory of the victory at Actium might be celebrated the more afterward, he built Nicopolis at Actium, and appointed public ſhows to be there exhibited every fifth year." In Auguſt § 18.

ians, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad ſtreet cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloiſters along it on both ſides and laid the open road with poliſhed ſtone, and was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the olympic games, which were in a very low condition by reaſon of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues for their maintenance, and made that ſolemn meeting more venerable, as to the ſacrifices and other ornaments: And by reaſon of this vaſt liberality, he was generally declared in their inſcriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of thoſe games.

4. Now ſome there are who ſtand amazed at the diverſity of Herod's nature and purpoſes; for when we have reſpect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he beſtowed on all mankind, there is no poſſibility for even thoſe that had the leaſt reſpect for him, to deny, or not openly to confeſs that he had a nature vaſtly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the puniſhments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his ſubjects, but to his neareſt relations, and takes notice of his ſevere and unrelenting diſpoſition there, he will be forced to allow, that it was brutiſh, and a ſtranger to all humanity; inſomuch, that theſe men ſuppoſe his nature to be different, and ſometimes at contradiction with itſelf: But I am myſelf of another opinion, and imagine that the occaſion of both theſe ſort of actions was one and the ſame; for being a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that paſſion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at preſent; and as his expences were beyond his abilities, he was neceſſitated to be harſh to his ſubjects, for the perſons on whom he expended his money were ſo many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it: And becauſe he was conſcious that he was hated by thoſe under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an eaſy thing to amend his offences, for that was inconvenient for his revenue, he therefore ſtrove on the other ſide to make their ill will an occaſion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obſequious to him in his language, and would not confeſs himſelf to be his ſlave, or but ſeemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himſelf, but proſecuted his very kindred and friends, and puniſhed them as if they were enemies; and this wickedneſs he undertook out of a deſire that he might be himſelf alone honoured. Now for this my aſſertion about that paſſion of his, we have the greateſt evidence, by what he did to honour Cæſar and Agrippa, and his other friends; for with what honours he paid his reſpects to them who were his ſuperiors, the fame did he deſire to be paid to himſelf; and what he thought the moſt excellent preſent he could make another, he diſcovered an inclination to have the like preſented to himſelf. But now the Jewiſh nation is by their law a

ſtranger to all ſuch things, and accuſtomed to prefer righteouſneſs to glory; for which reaſon that nation was not agreeable to him, becauſe it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition, with ſtatutes or temples, or any other ſuch performances. And this ſeems to me to have been at once the occaſion of Herod's crimes as to his own courtiers and counſellors, and of his benefactions as to foreigners and thoſe that had no relation to them.

CHAP. VI.

An embaſſage of the Jews in Cyrene and Aſia to Cæſar, concerning the complaints they had to make againſt the Greeks: With copies of the epiſtles which Cæſar and Agrippa wrote to the cities for them.

§ 1. NOW the cities ill treated the Jews in Aſia, and all thoſe alſo of the ſame nation which lived in Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that ſo far as to take away their ſacred money, and to do them miſchief on other particular occaſions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of their barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar on thoſe accounts; who gave them the ſame privileges as they had before, and ſent letters to the ſame purpoſe to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I ſubjoin here, as teſtimonials of the ancient favourable diſpoſition the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. "Cæſar Auguſtus, high prieſt, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found greatful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time paſt alſo, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high prieſt, under my * father Cæſar the emperor, it ſeemed good to me and my counſellors, according to the ſentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make uſe of their own cuſtoms, according to the law of their fathers, as they made uſe of them under Hyrcanus the high prieſt of Almighty God; and that their ſacred money be not touched, but be ſent to Jeruſalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jeruſalem: And that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath-day, nor on the † day

* Auguſtus here calls Julius Cæſar his *father*, though by birth he was only his *uncle*, on account of his adoption by him. See the ſame, Antiq. B. XIV. ch. xiv. § 4.

† This is authentic evidence, that the Jews, in the days of Auguſtus, began to prepare for the celebration of the Sabbath at the ninth hour on Friday, as the tradition of the elders did, it ſeems, then require of them.

of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour: But if any one be caught ſtealing their holy books, or their ſacred money, whether it be out of the ſynagogue, or public ſchool, he ſhall be deemed a ſacrilegous perſon, and his goods ſhall be brought into the public treaſury of the Romans. And I give order, that the teſtimonials which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exerciſe toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Cenſorinus, together with the preſent decree he propoſed in that moſt eminent place which hath been conſecrated to me by the community of Aſia at Ancyra. And if any one tranſgreſs any part of what is above decreed, he ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed." This was inſcribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæſar.

3. "Cæſar to Norbanus Flacus, ſendeth greeting: Let thoſe Jews, how many ſoever they be, who have been uſed, according to their ancient cuſtom, to ſend their ſacred money to Jeruſalem do the ſame freely." Theſe were the decrees of Cæſar.

4. Agrippa alſo did himſelf write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews: "Agrippa, to the magiſtrates, ſenate and people of the Epheſians, ſendeth greeting; I will that the care and cuſtody of the ſacred money that is carried to the temple at Jeruſalem be left to the Jews of Aſia, to do with it according to their ancient cuſtom; and that ſuch as ſteal that ſacred money of the Jews, and fly to a ſanctuary, ſhall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the ſame law that ſacrilegious perſons are taken thence. I have alſo written to Sylvanus the pretor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the Sabbath-day."

5. "Marcus Agrippa, to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Cyrene, ſendeth greeting: The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Auguſtus ſent orders about to Flavius, the then pretor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the ſacred money may be ſent to Jeruſalem freely, as hath been their cuſtom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abuſed by certain informers, and under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from ſending them, which I command to be reſtored without any diminution or diſturbance given to them: And if any of that ſacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I farther enjoin, that the ſame be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

6. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus proconſul, to the magiſtrates of the Sardians, ſendeth greeting; Cæſar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many ſoever they be, from aſſembling together according to the cuſtom of their forefathers nor from ſending their money to Jeruſalem: I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Cæſar and I would have you act accordingly."

7. Nor did Julius Antonius the proconſul write otherwiſe To the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of the Epheſians ſend-

eth greeting; as I was diſpenſing juſtice at Epheſus, on the ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Aſia demonſtrated to me, that Auguſtus and Agrippa had permitted them to uſe their own laws and cuſtoms, and to offer thoſe their firſt fruits which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jeruſalem without diſturbance. They alſo petitioned me, that I alſo would confirm what had been granted by Auguſtus and Agrippa by my own ſanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the will of Auguſtus and Agrippa I permit them to uſe and do according to the cuſtoms of their forefathers without diſturbance."

8. I have been obliged to ſet down theſe decrees becauſe the preſent hiſtory of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonſtrated to them that we have formerly been in great eſteem, and have not been prohibited by thoſe governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been ſupported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worſhip we payed to God: And I frequently make mention of theſe decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the cauſes of that hatred which unreaſonable men bear to us. As for our * cuſtoms, their is no nation which always makes uſe of the ſame and in every city almoſt we meet with them different from one another; but natural juſtice is moſt agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and Barbarians, to which our laws have the greateſt regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men: On which account we have reaſon to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to eſteem difference of poſitive inſtitutions a ſufficient cauſe of alienation, but [join with us in] the purſuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itſelf alone is ſufficient for the preſervation of human life. I now return to the thread of my hiſtory.

CHAP. VII.

How upon Herod's going down into David's ſepulchre, the ſedition in his family greatly increaſed.

§ 1. AS for Herod, he had ſpent vaſt ſums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom: And as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's ſepuchre, and taken out of it three thouſand talents of ſilver, and that there was much great-

* The remaining part of this chapter is a remarkable one, as juſtly diſtinguiſhing natural juſtice, religion, and morality, from poſitive inſtitutions in all countries,

er a number left behind, and indeed enough to ſuffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that ſepulchre by night and went into it, and endeavoured that it ſhould not be at all known in the city, but took only his moſt faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and thoſe precious goods that were laid up there, all which he took away. However, he had a great deſire to make a more diligent ſearch, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were ſlain, by a flame that burſt out upon thoſe that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in, and this of white ſtone at the mouth of the ſepulchre, and that at great expence alſo. And even * Nicolaus his hiſtoriographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the ſepulchre, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in the ſame manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and ſo as to pleaſe him, and as a ſervant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excuſing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was deſirous to put handſome colours on the death of Mariamne, and her ſons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falſehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous deſigns of his ſons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what juſt actions he had done, but earneſtly apologizing for his unjuſt ones. Indeed a man, as I ſaid, may have a great deal to ſay by way of excuſe for Nicolaus; for he did not ſo properly write this as an hiſtory for others, as ſomewhat that might be ſubſervient to the king himſelf. As for ourſelves, who come of a family nearly relied to the Aſmonean kings, and on that account have an honourable place, which is the prieſthood, we think it indecent to ſay any thing that is falſe about them, and accordingly we have deſcribed their actions after an unblemiſhed and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Her-

and evidently preferring the former before the latter, as did the true prophets of God always under the Old Teſtament, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles always under the New; whence our Joſephus ſeems to have been at this time nearer Chriſtianity than were the Scribes and Phariſees of his age, who, as we know from the New Teſtament, were entirely of a different opinion and practice.

* It is here worth our obſervation, how careful Joſephus was as to the diſcovery of truth in Herod's hiſtory, ſince we would not follow Nicolaus of Damaſcus himſelf, ſo great an hiſtorian, where there was great reaſon to ſuſpect that he flattered Herod; which impartiality in hiſtory Joſephus here ſolemnly profeſſes, and of which impartiality he has given more demonſtrations than almoſt any hiſtorian whomſoever: But as to Herod's taking great wealth out of David's ſepulchre, tho' I cannot prove it, yet do I ſtrongly ſuſpect it from this very hiſtory.

od's poſterity, who ſtill reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and this though it ſometimes happens that we incur their diſpleaſure by ſo doing.

2. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family ſeemed to be augmented, by reaſon of this attempt he made upon David's ſepulchre, whether divine vengeance increaſed the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an aſſault upon him, in thoſe caſes, wherein the ſeaſonableneſs of the cauſe made it ſtrongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety, for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one ſtrove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Antipater uſed ſtratagems perpetually againſt his brethren, and that very cunningly: While abroad he loaded them with accuſations, but ſtill took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts againſt them, by which means he, after various manners, circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preſervation. Herod alſo recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom to Antipater; and conſulted with his mother about the public affairs alſo. And indeed theſe were all in all, and did what they pleaſed, and made the king angry againſt any other perſons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage: But ſtill the ſons of Mariamne were in a worſe and worſe condition perpetually, and while they were thruſt out, and ſet in a more diſhonourable rank, who yet by birth, were the moſt noble, they could not bear the diſhonour. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome, both becauſe of her love to her huſband, and becauſe Glaphyra ſeemed to behave herſelf ſomewhat inſolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Ariſtobulus, which equality of hers to herſelf Glaphyra took very impatiently.

3. Now, beſides this ſecond contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himſelf out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for ſuſpicion and hatred; for he was overcome with the charms of his wife, to ſuch a degree of madneſs that he deſpiſed the king's daughter, to whom he had been betroathed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a ſervant. Herod alſo was grieved by the diſhonour that was done him, becauſe he had beſtowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almoſt a partner with him in the kingdom, and ſaw that he had not made him a due return for his favours, and eſteemed himſelf unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras's unworthy refuſal, he gave the damſel to Phaſaelus's ſon; but after ſome time, when he tho't the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and deſired him to take his ſecond daugh-

ter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamoured of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put his wife away although he already had a son by her, and engaged to the king, that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and sware he would have no farther conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of an harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men to bear a good will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her, if he said any thing to her in private, and when any misunderstandings happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it: By which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said, that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves; and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country schoolmasters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters: But these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defence they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already

told you, and ſaid, that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured on Glaphyra, and that his paſſion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealouſy; and he interpreted the inſtances of Herod's obliging behaviour to her, which were very frequent, for the worſe, which came from thoſe ſuſpicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what words Pheroras had ſaid. Upon which Herod was in a greater diſorder than ever; and not bearing ſuch a falſe calumny, which was to his ſhame, was much diſturbed at it: And often did he lament the wickedneſs of his domeſtics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he ſent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and ſaid, "Thou vileſt of all men! art thou come to that unmeaſurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to ſuppoſe ſuch things of me, but to ſpeak of them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are: It is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou uſeſt ſuch words to my ſon, but thereby to perſuade him to plot againſt me, and get me deſtroyed by poiſon. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my ſon, but would not bear ſuch a ſuſpicion of his father, but would revenge himſelf upon him? Doſt thou ſuppoſe that thou haſt only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather haſt put a ſword into his hand to ſlay his father? And what doſt thou mean, when thou really hateſt both him and his brother, to pretend kindneſs to them, only in order to raiſe a reproach againſt me, and talk of ſuch things as no one but ſuch an impious wretch as thou art could either deviſe in their mind, or declare in their words. Be gone, thou art ſuch a plague to thy benefactor, and thy brother, and may that evil conſcience of thine go along with thee; while I ſtill overcome my relations by kindneſs, and am far from avenging myſelf of them, as they deſerve, that I beſtow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

5. Thus did the king ſpeak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villany, ſaid, That "it was Salome who was the framer of this plot, and that the words came from her." But as ſoon as ſhe heard that, for ſhe was at hand, ſhe cried out, like one that would be believed, that no ſuch thing ever came out of her mouth: That they all earneſtly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to make her away, becauſe of the good will ſhe bore to Herod, and becauſe ſhe was always foreſeeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at preſent there were more plots againſt him than uſual; for while ſhe was the only perſon who perſuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if ſhe were hated by him. As ſhe ſaid this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breaſt, her countenance made her denial to be be-

lieved, but the perverſeneſs of her manners declared at the ſame time her diſſimulation in theſe proceedings: But Pheroras was caught between them and had nothing plauſible to offer in his own defence, while he confeſſed that he had ſaid what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he ſaid he had heard it from Salome: So the confuſion among them was increaſed, and their quarrelſome words one to another. At laſt the king, out of his hatred to his brother and ſiſter, ſent them both away; and when he had commended the moderation of his ſon, and that he had himſelf told him of the report, he went in the evening to refreſh himſelf. After ſuch a conteſt as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation ſuffered greatly ſince ſhe was ſuppoſed to have firſt raiſed the calumny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing ſhe was a very ill natured woman, and would ſometimes be a friend, and ſometimes an enemy at different ſeaſons: So they perpetually ſaid one thing or another againſt her, and ſomewhat that now fell out made them the bolder in ſpeaking againſt her.

6. There was one Obodus, king of Arabia, an inactive and ſlothful man in his nature; but Syllеus managed moſt of his affairs to him. He was a ſhrewd man, although he were but young, and was handſome withal. This Syllеus, upon ſome occaſion coming to Herod, and ſupping with him, ſaw Salome, and ſet his heart upon her; and underſtanding that ſhe was a widow, he diſcourſed with her. Now becauſe Salome was at this time leſs in favour with her brother, ſhe looked upon Syllеus with ſome paſſion, and was very earneſt to be married to him; and on the days following there appeared many, and thoſe very great indications of their agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod enquired about it farther of Pheroras, and deſired him to obſerve them at ſupper, how their behaviour was one toward another; who told him, that by the ſignals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this Syllеus the Arabian being ſuſpected, went away, but came again two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very deſign, and ſpake to Herod about it, and deſired that Salome might be given him to wife, for that his affinity might not be diſadvantageous to his affairs, by an union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly when Herod diſcourſed with his ſiſter about it, and aſked her, whether ſhe were diſpoſed to this match? She immediately agreed to it. But when Syllеus was deſired to come over to the Jewiſh religion, and then he ſhould marry her, and that it was impoſſible to do it on any other terms he would not bear that propoſal, and went his way; for he ſaid that if he ſhould do ſo, he ſhould be ſtoned by the Arabs. Then did

Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency, as did the women much more; and said, that Syllæus had debauched her. As for that damsel, which the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamoured on his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras, who pleaded, that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her: So he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion an hundred talents.

CHAP. VIII.

How Herod took up Alexander, and bound him: whom yet Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled to his Father Herod again.

§ 1. BUT still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There was certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was entrusted to one of them, of bringing his supper to another, and of putting him to bed to the third, who also managed the principal affairs of the government: And there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king's son, with great sums of money: And when they were asked, whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them? They confessed it, but said they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father; but when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said, that Alexander bare great ill-will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them, that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birth-right, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great ma-

ny of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his ſide, and thoſe no ill men neither, ready both to do and to ſuffer whatſoever ſhould come on that account.

2. When Herod heard this confeſſion, he was all over anger and fear, ſome parts ſeeming to him reproachful, and ſome made him ſuſpicious of dangers that attended him, inſomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid leſt ſome more heavy plot was laid againſt him than he ſhould be then able to eſcape from; whereupon he did not now make an open ſearch, but ſent about ſpies to watch ſuch as he ſuſpected, for he was now over-run with ſuſpicion and hatred againſt all about him; and indulging abundance of thoſe ſuſpicions, in order to his preſervation, he continued to ſuſpect thoſe that were guiltleſs: Nor did he ſet any bounds to himſelf, but ſuppoſing that thoſe who ſtaid with him had the moſt power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful; and for thoſe that did not uſe to come to him, it ſeemed enough to name them [to make them ſuſpected,] and he thought himſelf ſafer when they were deſtroyed: And at laſt his domeſtics were come to that paſs, that being no way ſecure of eſcaping themſelves, they fell to accuſing one another, and imagining that he who firſt accuſed another was moſt likely to ſave himſelf; yet, when any had overthrown others, they were hated, and they were thought to ſuffer juſtly, who unjuſtly accuſed others, and they only thereby prevented their own accuſation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught, they were puniſhed in the ſame way. Thus theſe men contrived to make uſe of this opportunity as an inſtrument and a ſnare againſt their enemies, yet when they tried it, were themſelves caught alſo in the ſame ſnare which they laid for others: And the king ſoon repented of what he had done, becauſe he had no clear evidence of the guilt of thoſe whom he had ſlain; and yet what was ſtill more ſevere in him, he did not make uſe of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the ſame puniſhment upon their accuſers.

3. And in this ſtate of diſorder were the affairs of the palace: And he had already told many of his friends directly, that they ought not to appear before him, nor to come into the palace; and the reaſon of this injunction was, that [when they were there] he had leſs freedom of acting, or a greater reſtraint on himſelf on their account: For at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gemellus, men who had of old been his friends, and been very uſeful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, by their ambaſſages and counſels; and had been tutors to his ſons, and had in a manner the firſt degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, becauſe his ſon Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gemellus, becauſe he knew that he wiſhed him well, which aroſe from his having been

with him in his youth, when he was at ſchool, and abſent at Rome. Theſe he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worſe by them; but that he might not ſeem to take ſuch liberty againſt men of ſo great reputation, he contented himſelf with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

4. Now it was Antipater, who was the cauſe of all this; who when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counſellors, he hurried him on, and then thought he ſhould bring him to do ſomewhat to purpoſe, when every one that could oppoſe him was taken away. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no diſcourſe nor freedom with the king any longer, the king, in the firſt place, examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of any of his attempts againſt him; but theſe died without having any thing to ſay to that matter. which made the king more zealous [after diſcoveries,] when he could not find out what evil proceedings he ſuſpected them of. As for Antipater, he was very ſagacious to raiſe a calumny againſt thoſe that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their conſtancy and fidelity [to Alexander,] and thereupon provoked Herod to diſcover by the torture of great numbers, what attempts were ſtill concealed. Now there was a certain perſon among the many that were tortured, who ſaid, that he knew that the young man had often ſaid, that when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a ſkilful markſman, and that in his commendable exerciſes he exceeded all men, theſe qualifications given him by nature, though good in themſelves, were not advantageous to him, becauſe his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavoured to depreſs and ſhorten himſelf, that he might not appear too tall; and that when he ſhot any thing as he was hunting. when his father was by, he miſſed his mark on purpoſe, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being ſuperior in ſuch exerciſes. So when the man was tormented about this ſaying, and had eaſe given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Ariſtobulus for his aſſiſtance, and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him; and when they had done ſo, to fly to Rome, and deſire to have the kingdom given them. There were alſo letters of the young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained, that his father did not act juſtly in giving Antipater a country, whoſe [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon theſe confeſſions Herod preſently thought he had ſomewhat to depend on, in his own opinion as to his ſuſpicion about his ſons; So he took up Alexander and bound him: Yet did he ſtill continue to be uneaſy, and was not quite ſatisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and

when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom] so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly: So he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Cæsar, and that he could discover a plot against him, that Mithridates the king of Parthia, was joined in friendship with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelon.

5. To these accusations Herod gave credit, and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness, as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition: But as for the poisonous potion, which he laboured to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under, so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punish the rashness of his father with a greater crime of his own; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calamities: He aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story to plague him, and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters and sent them to him, that "he did not need to torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pheroras, and the most faithful of his friends: And that Salome came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or no; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him." Among these were accused Ptolemy, and Sapinnius, who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, while there was no room for defence or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others lamented that they were in the expectation of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in. Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed; and because he could trust no body, he was sorely punished by

the expectation of farther misery, for he often fancied in his imagination, that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter and the young man [her husband], and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly. for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the more irritated, he went therefore another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man, and said, that Herod had been so very mild a man that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said, he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man he was thrown into a passion, but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner. Accordingly he desired that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said, it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted, and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother. So when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him, in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the King's disposition towards him immediately; and he said, that it was better for him to come himself to the King, and confess himself the occasion of all, that this

would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that then he would be preſent to aſſiſt him. When he had perſuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raiſed againſt the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as ſoon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved at this juncture of time the moſt acceptable perſon to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richeſt preſents, as tokens of his reſpects to him, and being on other occaſions magnanimous, he eſteemed him one of his deareſt friends. He alſo made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, becauſe he had written to Cæſar about theſe affairs; ſo they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the preſident of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and ſo returned back to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the revolt of the Trachonites: How Sylleus accuſed Herod before Cæſar: And how Herod, when Cæſar was angry at him, Reſolved to ſend Nicolaus to Rome.

§ 1. WHEN Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war aroſe between him and the Arabians, on the occaſion following: The inhabitants of Trachonites, after Cæſar had taken the country away from Zenodorus and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to plough the land and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like: And when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the firſt the king would not permit them to rob, and ſo they abſtained from that unjuſt way of living upon their neighbours, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care: But when he was ſailing to Rome, it was at that time when he went to accuſe his ſon Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Cæſar's protection, the Trachonites ſpread a report as if he were dead, and revolted from his dominion, and betook themſelves again to their accuſtomed way of robbing their neighbours; at which time the king's commanders ſubdued them during his abſence, but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by thoſe that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had miſſed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of ſtrength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Celeſyria alſo, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietneſs during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly

ſuffered by them, and ſince he could not reach the robbers themſelves, becauſe of the ſecure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabians government afforded them, and yet being very uneaſy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonites, and ſlew their relations; whereupon theſe robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all poſſible means, ſo they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity: Then did he diſcourſe about theſe robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they ſhould be puniſhed; upon which occaſion they ſtill the more confirmed themſelves in their robberies, and became more numerous; and made very great diſturbances, laying waſte the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing thoſe men whom they caught, till theſe unjuſt proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thouſand. At which Herod was ſore diſpleaſed, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus, which was ſixty talents, and ſince the time of payment was now paſt, he deſired to have it paid him; but Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aſide, and managed all by himſelf, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was an hearing before * Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the preſidents of Syria. At laſt, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty day's time Herod ſhould be paid his money, and that each of them ſhould deliver up the others ſubjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other ſubjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injuſtice, or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers among them.

2. When this day appointed for payment of the money was paſt, without Sylleus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia ſhould be delivered up; and, by the permiſſion of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himſelf upon thoſe that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and led it into Arabia, and in three day's time marched ſeven manſions; and when he came to the garriſon wherein the robbers were, he made an aſſault upon them, and took them all, and demoliſhed the place, which was called *Raepta*, but did no harm to any others; but as the Arabians came to their aſſiſtance, under Naceb their captain, there enſued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's ſoldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and

* Theſe joint preſidents of Syria, Saturninus and Volumnius, were not perhaps of equal authority, but the latter like a procurator under the former, as the very learned Noris and Pagi, and with them Dr. Hudſon, determine.

about twenty of his soldiers fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were hasted away to Sylleus to Rome, and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Cæsar, and was then about the palace: and soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Cæsar, That "Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Nacabus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Raepta were carried off; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present." When Sylleus said so, and added invidiously, That "he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Cæsar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage." Cæsar was provoked when this was said; and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, "Whether Herod had led an army thither?" and when they were forced to confess so much, Cæsar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this: That "whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject." Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians; who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor payed the money that was due: They retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Cæsar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of

his being quite gone with which Cæsar's favour used to inspire him; for Cæsar would not admit so much as an ambassage from him, to make an apology for him: And when they came again, he sent them away without success: So he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Cæsar, and was present at Rome, nay sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead: And Eneas, whose name was afterward changed to *Aretas, took the government, for Sylleus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Cæsar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom, yet did Eneas send an epistle and presents to Cæsar, and a golden crown of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself; yet did not Cæsar give heed to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents: But in the mean time the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because as bad as they were nobody had power to govern them, for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil doers; and as for Herod, Cæsar was immediately angry at him, for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Cæsar, and to address themselves to Cæsar himself; and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

CHAP. X.

How Eurycles falsely accused Herod's sons; and how their Father bound them, and wrote to Cæsar about them. Of Sylleus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus.

§ 1. THE disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen before hand, that fortune

* This Aretas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia, [at Petra and Damascus,] that when the crown came to this Eneas, he changed his name to *Aretas*, as Havercamp here justly observes. See Antiq. B. XIII. ch. xv. § 2. vol II.

threatened the greateſt and moſt unſupportable misfortunes poſſible to his kingdom. Its progreſs and augmentation at this time aroſe on the occaſion following: One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian (a perſon of note there, but a man of a perverſe mind, and ſo cunning in his ways of voluptuouſneſs and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet ſeem to indulge neither of them), came in his travels to Herod, and made him preſents, but ſo that he received more preſents from him. He alſo took ſuch proper ſeaſons for inſinuating himſelf into his friendſhip, that he became one of the moſt intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's houſe; but he had not only acceſs, but free converſation with Alexander as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much reſpect to Glaphyra, and, in an occult manner, cultivated a friendſhip with them all, but always attending to what was ſaid and done, that he might be furniſhed with calumnies to preſs them all. In ſhort, he behaved himſelf ſo to every body in his converſation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being any where was for that perſon's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and perſuaded him, that he might open his grievances to him with aſſurance, and with nobody elſe. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him alſo the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himſelf; that no part of this was tolerable, ſince his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his converſation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander about the things that troubled him: And theſe diſcourſes Eurycles carried to Antipater; and told him, he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that being overcome by his kindneſs, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it: And he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he ſaid was ſpoken with vehemency, and that, in conſequence of what he ſaid, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him preſents upon all occaſions, and at length perſuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as diſcovered by the words he had heard him ſpeak, he was eaſily believed by him, and he thereby brought the king to that paſs, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increaſed his hatred to him, and made him implacable, which he ſhewed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a preſent of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in

making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out: But when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief, and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them, but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavour to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyranus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king having an immediate suspicion of those men, had them tortured; who endured the torture courageously for a long time, but at last confessed, that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts? that it might be said he fell from his horse, and was ran through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also shewed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground, and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears and weapons to Alexander's dependents, at Alexander's command.

4. After these the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress, yet did not he acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said, it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you, but do your endeavours, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was pro-

duced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous deſigns of his ſons againſt him. But Alexander ſaid, that Diophantus the ſcribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciouſly drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in ſuch practices and as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced thoſe that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuſe the young men; which accuſers many of the people ſtoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander and Ariſtobulus likewiſe, the king would not permit them to do ſo, but reſtrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in cuſtody, that no body might come at them; and all that they did or ſaid was watched; and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from thoſe of condemned criminals: And one of them, who was ſo deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had ſuffered things to come to that paſs; when he ſaid to her, "Art not thou in danger of deſtruction alſo, while the report goes that thou hadſt diſcloſed before hand all our affairs to Sylleus when thou waſt in hopes of being married to him?" But ſhe immediately carried thoſe words to her brother: Upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept ſeparate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done againſt their father, and bring the writings to him. So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had laid no treacherous deſigns, nor made any preparations againſt their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the diſtreſs they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambaſſador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whoſe name was *Melas*: He was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod being deſirous to ſhew Archelaus's ill-will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and aſked him again concerning his flight, whether and how they had reſolved to retire? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promiſed to ſend them away to Rome, but that they had no wicked nor miſchievous deſigns againſt their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adverſaries had charged upon them was true; and that their deſire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus, and Jucundus more ſtrictly, but that they had been ſuddenly ſlain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpoſe]."

7. When this was ſaid, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas ſhould be carried to Glaphyra, Archelaus's daughter, and that ſhe ſhould be aſked, whether ſhe did not

know ſomewhat of Alexander's treacherous deſigns againſt Herod? Now as ſoon as they were come to her, and ſhe ſaw Alexander in bonds, ſhe beat her head, and, in a great conſternation, gave a deep and a moving groan. The young man alſo fell into tears. This was ſo miſerable a ſpectacle to thoſe preſent, that, for a great while, they were not able to ſay or to do any thing; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bid him ſay, whether his wife were conſcious of his actions? He replied, "How is it poſſible that ſhe, whom I love better than my own ſoul, and by whom I have had children, ſhould not know what I do? Upon which ſhe cried out, That "ſhe knew of no wicked deſigns of his; but that yet, if her accuſing herſelf falſely would tend to his preſervation, ſhe would confeſs it all." Alexander replied, "There is no ſuch wickedneſs as thoſe (who ought the leaſt of all ſo to do) ſuſpect, which either I have imagined, or thou knoweſt of, but this only, that we had reſolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which ſhe alſo confeſſed. Upon which Herod, ſuppoſing that Archelaus's ill-will to him was fully proved, he ſent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius, and bid them, as they ſailed by, to touch at Eleuſa of Cilicia, and gave Archelaus the letter. And that when they had expoſtulated with him, that he had an hand in his ſon's treacherous deſign againſt him, they ſhould from thence ſail to Rome; and that, in caſe they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Cæſar was no longer diſpleaſed at him, he ſhould give his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to ſhew againſt the young men. As to Archelaus, he made this defence for himſelf, That "he had promiſed to receive the young men, becauſe it was both for their own and their father's advantage ſo to do, leſt ſom too ſevere procedure ſhould be gone upon in that anger and diſorder they were in on occaſion of the preſent ſuſpicions; but that ſtill he had not promiſed to ſend them to Cæſar; and that he had not promiſed any thing elſe to the young men that could ſhew ill-will to him."

8. When theſe ambaſſadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Cæſar: Becauſe they found him reconciled to Herod; for the circumſtances of Nicolaus's ambaſſage had been as follows: As ſoon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not firſt of all ſet about what he was come for only, but he thought fit alſo to accuſe Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and ſome of them left Sylleus's party, and joining themſelves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done: And produced to him evident demonſtrations of the ſlaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylleus, for when theſe men left Sylleus they had carried off with them thoſe whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus ſaw ſuch an opportunity afforded him, he made uſe of it, in order to gain his own

point afterward, and endeavoured immediately to make a reconciliation between Cæsar, and Herod; for he was fully satisfied that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Sylleus, there would an occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said, That "he imputed to him the destruction of the king [Obodas], and of many others of the Arabians: That he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabians, but Roman women also." And he added, That "above all the rest he had alienated Cæsar from Herod; and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities." When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Cæsar stopped him from going on; and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod's; and to shew that "he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country." To which Nicolaus made this answer, "I shall principally demonstrate that either nothing at all, or but a very little of those imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed, for had they been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry at Herod." At this strange assertion, Cæsar was very attentive: And Nicolaus said, That "there was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be elapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure out of any part of his country. As for the pretended army, he said, it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money: That this was not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus, and Volumnius, the presidents of Syria; and that at last he had sworn at Berytus, * by the fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his dominion. And that when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents; and upon their permission to make a seizure of his money, he with difficulty, went out of his country with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe; and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war? When thy presidents permitted it; the covenants allowed it; and it was not executed till thy name, O Cæsar, as well as that of the other gods, had been profaned. And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in

* This oath, *by the fortune of Cæsar*, was put to Polycarp, a bishop of Smyrna, by the Roman governor, to try whether he were a Christian, as they were then esteemed who refused to swear that oath. Martyr. Polycarp, § 9.

Trachonitis: At firſt their number was no more than forty, but they became more afterwards, and they eſcaped the puniſhment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and ſupported them with food, that they might be miſchievous to all mankind, and gave them a country to inhabit, and himſelf received the gains they made by robbery; yet did he promiſe that he would deliver up theſe men, and that by the ſame oaths, and ſame time that he ſware and fixed for payment of his debt: Nor can he by any means ſhew that any other perſons have at this time been out of Arabia beſides theſe, and indeed not all theſe neither, but only ſo many as could not conceal themſelves. And thus does the calumny of the captives, which hath been ſo odiouſly repreſented, appear to be no better than a fiction and a lie made on purpoſe to provoke thy indignation; for I venture to affirm, that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himſelf, and there fell Nacebus their general, and, in all, about twenty-five others, and no more; whence Sylleus, by multiplying every ſingle ſoldier to an hundred, he reckons the ſlain to have been two thouſand five hundred."

7. This provoked Cæſar more than ever: So he turned to Sylleus full of rage, and aſked him how many of the Arabians were ſlain? Hereupon he heſitated, and ſaid he had been impoſed upon. The covenants alſo were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the preſidents of Syria, and the complaints of the ſeveral cities, ſo many as had been injured by the robbers. The concluſion was this, that Sylleus was condemned to die, and that Cæſar was reconciled to Herod, and owed his repentance for what ſevere things he had written to him, occaſioned by calumny, inſomuch, that he told Sylleus that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude againſt a man that was his friend. At the laſt all came to this, Sylleus was ſent away to anſwer Herod's ſuit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be puniſhed [with death]: But ſtill Cæſar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himſelf the government, without his conſent firſt obtained, for he had determined to beſtow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had ſent hindered him from ſo doing, for Olympus and Volumnius perceiving that Cæſar was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his ſons. When Cæſar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill ſtate with relation to his ſons, ſo he admitted Aretas's ambaſſadors; and after he had juſt reproved him for his raſhneſs, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his preſents, and confirmed him in his government.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod, by permiſſion from Cæſar, accuſed his Sons before an Aſſembly of Judges at Berytus; and what Tero ſuffered for uſing a boundleſs and military Liberty of Speech. Concerning alſo the Death of the Young Men, and their burial at Alexandrium.

§ 1. SO Cæſar was now reconciled to Herod; and wrote thus to him, That "he was grieved for him on account of his ſons; and that in caſe they had been guilty of any profane and inſolent crimes againſt him, it would behove him to puniſh them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He alſo adviſed him to get an aſſembly together, and to appoint ſome place near * Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the preſidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illuſtrious, for their friendſhip to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what ſhould be done by their approbation." Theſe were the directions that Cæſar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Cæſar's reconciliation to him, and very glad alſo that he had a complete authority given him over his ſons. And it ſtrangely came about, that whereas before in his adverſity, though he had indeed ſhewed himſelf ſevere, yet had he not been very raſh, nor haſty in procuring the deſtruction of his ſons, he now, in his proſperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exerciſe his hatred againſt them, after an unheard-of manner; he therefore ſent and called as many as he thought fit to this aſſembly, excepting Archelaus, for as for him he either hated him, ſo that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obſtacle to his deſigns.

2. When the preſidents, and the reſt that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his ſons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called *Platana*, but near to this city, that if they were called he might produce them; for he did not think fit to bring them before the aſſembly: And when there were one hundred and fifty aſſeſſors preſent, Herod came

* What Joſephus relates Auguſtus to have here ſaid, that Berytus *was a city belonging to the Romans*, is confirmed by Spanheim's notes here. "It was, ſays he, a colony placed there by Auguſtus. Whence Ulpian, *De cenſ. bel. L. T. XV. The colony of Berytus was rendered famous by the benefits of Cæſar:* And thence it is that, among the coins of Auguſtus, we meet with ſome having this inſcription: *The happy colony of Auguſtus at Berytus.*"

by himself alone and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed in such a way, as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement, and disordered, when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity: Nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him. But only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill-will he bare them; and when he came to those reproaches, he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him, and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said, That "he had sufficient authority both by nature, and by Cæsar's grant to him [to do what he thought fit]. He also added an allegation of a law of their country, which enjoined this. That if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him? Which though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination, that yet they came thither not so much as judges to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his son's means, but as persons that had an opportunity of shewing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs [without punishment."]

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity, reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation, and trouble; and said, That "he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own, and to put one's son to death, is a greater misfortune than any other that could befal him by their means." After him Saturninus's sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father: On the contrary, Volumnius's sentence was, to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this

Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he enquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter? His answer was; "That what they had determined to do to thee was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison; and if thou thinkest any thing farther necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that thou mayest not appear to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgement; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable: And this is the opinion of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also." Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bid Nicolaus sail along with him.

4. Now as they came to Cesarea every body was there talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspence, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them, for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it, but mens pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent; yet was there an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was *Tero*, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free, as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that matter; and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, "That truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that can befal men." And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said, moved men to regard him, as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they first took care of their own safety, by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took, for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

5. This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this: "Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety,

Whither is thy underſtanding gone, and left thy ſoul empty? Whither is that extraordinary ſagacity of thine gone, whereby thou haſt performed ſo many and ſuch glorious actions? Whence comes this ſolitude, and deſertion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine, that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook ſo horrid wickedneſs in thy once happy kingdom. Doſt not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou ſlay theſe two young men, born of thy queen, who are accompliſhed with every virtue in the higheſt degree, and leave thyſelf deſtitute in thy old age, but expoſed to one ſon, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou haſt given him, and to relations, whoſe death thou haſt ſo often reſolved on thyſelf? Doſt not thou take notice that the very ſilence of the multitude at once ſees the crime, and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have, commiſeration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to thoſe that are the actors in this matter." Theſe words the king heard, and for ſome time with good temper. But what can one ſay? When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behavour and perfidiouſneſs of his domeſtics, he was moved at it; but Tero went on farther, and by degrees uſed an unbounded military freedom of ſpeech, nor was he ſo well diſciplined as to accommodate himſelf to the time: So Herod was greatly diſturbed, and ſeeming to be rather reproached by this ſpeech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned hereby, that both the ſoldiers abhorred the thing he was about and the officers had indignation at it, he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himſelf, ſhould be bound and kept in priſon.

6. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity and came and told the king, that Tero would often have perſuaded him, when he trimmed him with a razor, to cut his throat, for that by this means he ſhould be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had ſaid this, the king gave order that Tero, and his ſon and the barber, ſhould be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himſelf, his ſon, ſeeing his father already in a ſad caſe, and had no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the conſequence of his terrible ſufferings, ſaid, that "if the king would free him and his father from theſe torments, for what he ſhould ſay he would tell the truth." And when the king had given his word to do ſo, he ſaid that "there was an agreement made, that Tero ſhould lay violent hands on the king, becauſe it was eaſy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he ſhould ſuffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generoſity done in favour of Alexander." This was what Tero's ſon ſaid, and thereby freed his father from the diſtreſs he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to ſpeak

what was true, or whether it were a contrivance of his, in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it, but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them, before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stonned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were in the night time carried to Alexandrium, where their uncle by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

8. * And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides,] as to proceed farther, and overcome nature: But it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be to be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way, put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immoveable; or indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasonings: Whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined before hand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her *Fate*, because there is nothing which is not done by her; wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attributes somewhat to to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the different conducts of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting and intemperate in

* The reader is here to note, that this eighth section is entirely wanting in the old Latin version, as Spanheim truly observes; nor is there any other reason for it, I suppose, than the great difficulty of an exact translation.

ſpeaking of it, and on both accounts eaſily caught by thoſe that obſerved them, and revealed them to gain favour; yet cannot their father be thought worthy of excuſe as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous deſigns againſt him, and without any proofs that they had made preparation for ſuch attempt to kill his own ſons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exerciſes, or in ſpeaking upon occaſional topics of diſcourſe; for in all theſe they were ſkilful, and eſpecially Alexander, who was the eldeſt; for certainly it had been ſufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a diſtance from his dominions in baniſhment, while he was ſurrounded by the Roman forces, which were a ſtrong ſecurity to him whoſe help would prevent his ſuffering any thing by a ſudden onſet, or by open force, but for him to kill them on the ſudden, in order to gratify a paſſion that governed him, was a demonſtration of inſufferable impiety: He alſo was guilty of ſo great a crime in his elder age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done plead at all for his excuſe; for when a man is on a ſudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be an heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens, but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at laſt, and accompliſh it, was the action of a murderous mind and ſuch as was not eaſily moved from that which is evil: And this temper he ſhewed in what he did afterward, when he did not ſpare thoſe that ſeemed to be the beſt beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the juſtice of the puniſhment cauſed thoſe that periſhed to be the leſs pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abſtain from their ſlaughter alſo: But of thoſe perſons we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe more hereafter.

BOOK XVII.

Containing the interval of fourteen years.

[*From the death of* ALEXANDER *and* ARISTOBULUS, *to the baniſhment of* ARCHELAUS.]

CHAP. I.

How Antipater was hated by all the nation [of the Jews] for the ſlaughter of his brethren; and how, for that reaſon, he got into peculiar favour with his friends at Rome, by giving them many preſents; as he did alſo with Saturninus the preſident of Syria, and the governors who were under him; and concerning Herod's wives and children.

§ 1. WHEN Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the higheſt degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not ſucceed to his mind, as to the reſt of his life; for, although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almoſt impracticable, to come at the kingdom, becauſe the hatred of the nation againſt him on that account was become very great: And, beſides this very diſagreeable circumſtance, the affair of the ſoldiery grieved him ſtill more who were alienated from him, from which yet theſe kings derived all the ſafety which they had, whenever they found the nation deſirous of innovation: And all this danger was drawn upon him by his deſtruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that very reaſon truſted, and the more firmly depended on, for the which he ought himſelf to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preſervation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and, before them, to his father himſelf; and this was the accurſed ſtate he was in. Now, all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuſe him in the vile practices he was deviſing; and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their aſſiſtance, ſince they muſt thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; inſomuch that the very plots he had laid againſt his brethren, were occaſioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever ſet upon

the execution of his attempts againſt Herod, becauſe if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly ſecured to him; but if he were ſuffered to live any longer, he ſhould be in danger upon a diſcovery of that wickedneſs of which he had been the contriver, and his father would of neceſſity then become his enemy. And on this account it was that he became very bounteful to his father's friends, and beſtowed great ſums on ſeveral of them, in order to ſurpriſe men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred againſt him. And he ſent great preſents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good will; and above all the reſt to Saturniuns, the preſident of Syria. He alſo hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus's brother with the large preſents he beſtowed on him; as alſo he uſed the ſame art to [Salome] the king's ſiſter, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And, when he counterfeited friendſhip to thoſe with whom he converſed, he was very ſubtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred againſt any that he really did hate. But he could not impoſe upon his aunt, who underſtood him of a long time, and was a woman not eaſily to be deluded; eſpecially while ſhe had already uſed all poſſibly caution in preventing his pernicious deſigns. Although Antipater's uncle by the mother's ſide, were married to her daughter, and this by his own connivance and management, while ſhe had before been married to Ariſtobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that huſband were married to the ſon of Calleas. But that marriage was no obſtacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her diſcovering his deſigns, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod compelled Salome, while ſhe was in love with Syllæus the Arabian, and had taken a fondneſs for him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her ſubmitted to at the inſtance of Julia, who perſuaded Salome not to refuſe it, leſt ſhe ſhould herſelf be their open enemy, ſince Herod had ſworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if ſhe would not accept of Alexas for her huſband; ſo ſhe ſubmitted to Julia as being Cæſar's wife, and, beſides that, as ſhe adviſed her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time alſo it was that Herod ſent back king Archelaus's daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own eſtate, that there might be no diſpute between them about it.

2. Now Herod brought up his ſon's children with great care: for Alexander had two ſons by Glaphyra, and Ariſtobulus had three ſons by Bernice Salome's daughter, and two daughters: And, as his friends were one with him, he preſented the children before them; and deploring the hard fortune of his own ſons, he prayed that no ſuch ill fortune might befal theſe who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they juſtly deſerved, and might make

him amends for his care of their education. He alſo accuſed them to be betrothed againſt they ſhould come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander's ſons to Pherora's daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Ariſtobulus's eldeſt ſon. He alſo allotted one of Ariſtobulus's daughter to Antipater's ſon and Ariſtobulus's other daughter to Herod, a ſon of his own, who was born to him by the high prieſt's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the ſame time. Now the king made theſe eſpouſals for the children, out of commiſeration of them now they were fatherleſs, as endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by theſe intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the ſame temper of mind to his brother's children, which he had borne to his brothers themſelves; and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation againſt them upon this ſuppoſal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would ſupport his daughter's ſons and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his ſon. What provoked him alſo was this, that all the multitude would ſo commiſerate theſe fatherleſs children, and ſo hate him, [for making them fatherleſs], that all would come out, ſince they were no ſtrangers to his vile diſpoſition towards his brethren. He contrived therefore to overturn his father's ſettlements, as thinking it a terribler thing that they ſhould be ſo related to him, and be ſo powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his reſolution at his entreaty; and the determination now was, that Antipater himſelf ſhould marry Ariſtobulus's daughther, and Antipater's ſon ſhould marry Pheroras's daughter. So the eſpouſals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.

3. Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater's mother, and another the high prieſt's daughter, by whom he had a ſon of his own name. He had alſo one who was his brother's daughter, and another his ſiſter's daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives alſo was of the Samaritan nation, whoſe ſons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whoſe daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joſeph, the king's brother's ſon; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had alſo to wife Cleopatra of Jeruſalem, and by her he had his ſons Herod and Philip; which laſt was alſo brought up at Rome: Pallas alſo was one of his wives which bare him his ſon Phaſaelus. And beſides theſe, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he

* Thoſe who have a mind to know all the family and deſcendants of Antipater the Idumean, and of Herod the Great, his ſon, and have a memory to preſerve them all diſtinctly, may conſult Joſephus, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch v. § 4. vol. II. and Of the War, B. I. ch xxviii. § 4. vol. III. and Noldius in Havercamp's edition, p 336. and Spanheim, *ib*. p. 402—405. and Reland, Paleſtin. Part I. P. 175, 176.

had his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater the king's sister's son. and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Zamaris, the Babylonian Jew. Concerning the plots laid by Antipater against his father; and somewhat about the Pharisees.

§ 1. AND now it was that Herod, being desirous of securing himself on the side of the Treachonites, resolved to build a village, as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man that was a Jew, come out of Babylon, with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback, and with an hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president had given them a place for habitation, called *Valatha*, he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called *Batanea*, which country is bounded with Trachonites as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid. and gave it him tax-free.

2. The Babylonian was induced by these offers to come hither; so he took possession of the land and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it *Bathyra*. Whereby this man became a safeguard to the inhabitans against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon, to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robberies; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harrassed them greatly, yet would they not take their liberty away. From whom when the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands, they still gave them the privilege of their freedom, but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes. Of which

matter I ſhall treat more accurately in the progreſs of this hiſtory *.

3. At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a poſſeſſion, died; having lived virtuouſly, and left children of a good character behind him: One of which was Jacim, who was famous for his valour, and taught his Babylonians how to ride their horſes; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacim was dead in his old age, he left a ſon whoſe name was Philip, one of great ſtrength in his hands, and in other reſpects alſo more eminent for his valour than any of his cotemporaries; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendſhip between him and King Agrippa. He had alſo an army, which he maintained, as great as that of a King; which he exerciſed and led whereſoever he had occaſion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have deſcribed, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was ſuch, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleaſed, and this by his father's conceſſion, in hopes of his good will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to uſe his power ſtill farther, becauſe his wicked deſigns were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he ſaid. He was alſo formidable to all, not ſo much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the ſhrewdneſs of his vile attempts before-hand; But he who principally cultivated a friendſhip with him was Pheroras, who received the like marks of his friendſhip; while Antipater had cunningly encompaſſed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him: For Pheroras was greatly enſlaved to his wife, and to her mother, and to her ſiſter; and this notwithſtanding the hatred he bare them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet he did bare them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued ſtill to aſſiſt each other in all things inſomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himſelf, and by his mother; for theſe four women † ſaid all one and the ſame thing; but the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in ſome points of no conſequence. But the king's ſiſter [Salome] was their antagoniſt, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their friendſhip was made in order to do Herod ſome miſchief, and was diſpoſed to inform the king of it. And ſince theſe people knew that their friendſhip was very diſagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a miſchief, they contrived that their meetings ſhould not be diſcovered; ſo they pretended to hate one another, and to abuſe one another when time ſerved, and eſ-

* This is now wanting.

† Pheroras's wife and her mother, and ſiſter, and Doris, Antipater's mother.

pecially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him; but still their intimacy was firmer than ever, when they were private. And this was the course they took; but they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them: But she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, "As well their secret assemblies and compotations, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public. But to appearance, they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs." And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were inveighled. These are those that are called the sect of the *Pharisees*, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting, and doing mischief. Accordingly when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Cæsar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras's wife paid their fine for them. In order to requite which kindness of her's, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed, that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself; so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused and Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold: And for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the enmity between Herod and Pheroras: How Herod ſent Antipater to Cæſar; and of the Death of Pheroras.

§ 1. WHEN Herod had puniſhed thoſe Phariſees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an aſſembly together of his friends, and accuſed Pheroras's wife; and aſcribing the abuſes of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accuſation againſt her for the diſhonour ſhe had brought upon them: That "ſhe had ſtudiouſly introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a ſtate of war, both by her words and actions; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had eſcaped puniſhment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her: For which reaſon Pheroras would do well, if he would, of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will ſtill be the occaſion of war between thee and me. And now Pheroras, if thou valueſt thy relation to me, put this wife of thine away; for by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then ſaid Pheroras, (although he were preſſed hard by the former words,) that "As he would not do ſo unjuſt a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation to him, ſo would he not leave off his affection for his wife: That he would rather chooſe to die than to live, and be deprived of a wife that was ſo dear unto him." Hereupon Herod put off his anger againſt Pheroras on theſe accounts, although he himſelf thereby underwent a very uneaſy puniſhment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother to have any converſation with Pheroras, and bid them to take care to avoid the aſſemblies of the women: Which they promiſed to do; but ſtill got together when occaſion ſerved, and both Pheroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went alſo, that Antipater had criminal converſation with Pheroras's wife; and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

2. But Antipater had now a ſuſpicion of his father, and was afraid that the effects of his hatred to him might increaſe: So he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bid them to ſend to Herod, that he would immediately ſend Antipater to Cæſar; which, when it was done, Herod ſent Antipater thither, and ſent moſt noble preſents along with him; as alſo his teſtament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his ſucceſſor: And that if Antipater ſhould die firſt, [Herod Philip] ſon by the high-prieſt's daughter, ſhould ſucceed. And, together with

Antipater, there went to Rome, Sylleus the Arabian, although he had done nothing of all that Cæsar had enjoined him. Antipater also accused him of the same crimes of which he had been formerly accused by Herod. Sylleus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent, he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Soemus, a man that deserved to be honoured by all men, and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Cæsar's. These were the things of which Sylleus was accused, and that on the occasion following: There was one Corinthus belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's body, and one who was greatly trusted by him. Sylleus had persuaded this man with the offer of a great sum of money, to kill Herod; and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been acquainted with this, for Sylleus had himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; who caught Corinthus, and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus, who both were by the king brought to the torture and confessed, that they were come to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken to do; and to assist him with their own hands in the murder, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

3. At this time, Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy; which he did very willingly, and sware many oaths that he would not come again, till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed, when, upon a sickness of the king's, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might intrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him: Yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose [not to see him,] which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: But as soon as he began to be ill, he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This [death of Pheroras] became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, although he were already sailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren. I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning to mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

CHAP. IV.

Pheroras's Wife is accuſed by his Freed Men, as guilty of poiſoning him; and how Herod, upon Examination of the matter by Torture, found the Poiſon; but ſo that it had been prepared for himſelf by his ſon Antipater: And, upon an enquiry by Torture, he diſcovered the dangerous deſigns of Antipater.

§ 1. AS ſoon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras's freed men who were much eſteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into ſuch an unreaſonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with theſe words, for they ſeemed to him to be true, they ſaid, That "Pheroras ſupped with his wife the day before he fell ſick, and that a certain potion was brought him in ſuch a ſort of food as he was not uſed to eat; but that when he had eaten he died of it: That this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretence indeed as a love potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras; for that the Arabian women are ſkilful in making ſuch poiſons: And the woman to whom they aſcribe this, was confeſſedly a moſt intimate friend of one of Sylleus's miſtreſſes; and that both the mother and the ſiſter of Pheroras's wife had been at the places where ſhe lived, and had perſuaded her to ſell them this potion; and had come back and brought it with them the day before that his ſupper." Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women ſlaves to the torture, and ſome that were free with them: And as the fact did not yet appear, becauſe none of them would confeſs it; at length one of them, under her utmoſt agonies, ſaid no more but this, That "ſhe prayed that God would ſend the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the occaſion of theſe miſeries to all of them." This prayer induced Herod to increaſe the women's tortures, till thereby all was diſcovered: "Their merry meetings, their ſecret aſſemblies, and the diſcloſing of what he had ſaid to his ſon alone, unto Pheroras's * women." (Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal, was, the gift of an hundred talents to him not to have any converſation

* His wife, her mother and ſiſter.

It ſeems to me, by this whole ſtory put together, that Pheroras was not himſelf poiſoned, as is commonly ſuppoſed; for Antipater had perſuaded him to poiſon Herod, ch. v. § 1. which would fall to the ground, if he were himſelf poiſoned; nor could the poiſoning of Pheroras ſerve any deſign that appears now going forward, it was only the ſuppoſal of two of his freed men, that this love-potion, or poiſon, which they knew was brought to Pheroras's wife, was made uſe of for poiſoning him; whereas it appears to have been brought, for her husband to poiſon Herod withal, as the future examinations demonſtrate.

with Pheroras.) "And what hatred he bore to his father; and that he complained to his mother how very long his father lived; and that he was himself almoſt an old man, inſomuch, that if the kingdom ſhould come to him, it would not afford him any great pleaſure; and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brother's children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom as well as himſelf, all which, made his own hopes of it uncertain; for that even now if he ſhould himſelf not live, Herod had ordained that the government ſhould be conferred not on his ſon but rather on a brother. He alſo had accuſed the king of great barbarity, and of the ſlaughter of his ſons; and that it was out of the fear he was under, leſt he ſhould do the like to him, that made him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy."

2. Theſe confeſſions agreed with what his ſiſter had told him; and tended greatly to corroborate her teſtimony, and to free her from the ſuſpicion of her unfaithfulneſs to him. So the king having ſatisfied himſelf of the ſpite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as himſelf, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents; and then ſent her away, and entered into friendſhip with Pheroras's women. But he who moſt of all irritated the king againſt his ſon, was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's ſon, who when he was tortured, among other things ſaid, That Antipater had prepared a deadly potion and given it to Pheroras, with his deſire that he would give it to his father during his abſence, and when he was too remote to have the leaſt ſuſpicion caſt upon him thereto relating; that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends brought that potion out of Egypt; and that it was ſent to Pheroras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of Antipater the king's ſon, and by that means came to Pheroras's wife, her huſband having given it her to keep. And when the king aſked her about it, ſhe confeſſed it; and as ſhe was running to fetch it, ſhe threw herſelf down from the houſe top; yet did ſhe not kill herſelf becauſe ſhe fell upon her feet: By which means, when the king had comforted her, and had promiſed her and her domeſtics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but had threatened her with the utmoſt miſeries if ſhe proved ungrateful, [and concealed any thing]; ſo ſhe promiſed and ſwore that ſhe would ſpeak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done; and ſaid what many took to be entirely true, that "the potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus; and that his brother, who was a phyſician had procured it; and that when Theudion brought it us, ſhe kept it upon Pheroras's committing it to her; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, therefore, Pheroras was fallen ſick, and thou camedſt to him and tookedſt care of him, and when he ſaw the kindneſs thou hadſt for

him, his mind was overborne thereby." So he called me to him, and said to me, "O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subservient thereto: Do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion, (since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother) and burn it before my face: That accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her; and that she burnt the greatest part of the potion; but that a little of it was left, that if the king, after Pheroras's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphilus's, and his mother also, who by the extremity of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box [to be that which had been brought out of Egypt]. The high-priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it; for which reason Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

3. While this was doing, Bathyllus, also Antipater's freedman came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths, and as if, because they were sent for home, (for their father had already recalled them), they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said, they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Sylleus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months be-

fore this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The cauſes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there were no body who would run any hazard himſelf, to gain him any advantages.

CHAP. V.

Antipater's Navigation from Rome to his Father; and how he was accuſed by Nicolaus of Damaſcus, and condemned to die by his Father, and by Quintilius Varus, who was then Preſident of Syria; and how he was then bound till Cæſar ſhould be informed of his Cauſe.

§ 1. NOW Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would ſuddenly come to him, concealed his anger againſt him, and wrote back to him, and bid him not delay his journey, leſt any harm ſhould befal himſelf in his abſence. At the ſame time alſo he made ſome little complaint about his mother, but promiſed, that he would lay thoſe complaints aſide when he ſhould return. He withal expreſſed his entire affection for him, as fearing leſt he ſhould have ſome ſuſpicion of him, and defer his journey to him; and leſt while he lived at Rome, he ſhould lay plots for the kingdom, and moreover, do ſomewhat againſt himſelf. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Pheroras's death before at Tarentum. This laſt news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but becauſe he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promiſed him to do. And when he was at Celenderis in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himſelf about his ſailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now ſome of his friends adviſed him, that he ſhould tarry a while ſomewhere, in expectation of farther information. But others adviſed him to ſail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would ſoon put an end to all acculations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accuſers at preſent but his abſence. He was perſuaded by theſe laſt, and ſailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebaſtus which Herod had built at vaſt expences in honour of Cæſar, and called Sebaſtus. And now was Antipater evidently in a miſerable condition, while no body came to him nor ſaluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wiſhes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curſes, while they ſuppoſed he was come to receive his puniſhment for the murder of his brethren.

2. Now Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jeruſalem, be-

ing ſent to ſucceed Saturninus, as preſident of Syria, and was come as an aſſeſſor to Herod, who had deſired his advice in his preſent affairs; and as they were ſitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter; ſo he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great diſorder, and preſently underſtood the condition he was in, while upon his going to ſalute his father, he was repulſed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of deſtruction againſt himſelf, and told him that Varus ſhould be his auditor and his judge the very next day; ſo he found, that what misfortune he now heard of was already upon him, with the greatneſs of which he went away in confuſion; upon which his mother and his wife met him, (which wife was the daughter of Antigonus who was king of the Jews before Herod), from whom he learned all circumſtances which concerned him, and then prepared himſelf for his trial.

3. On the next day Varus and the king ſat together in judgment, and both their friends were alſo called in, as alſo the king's relations, with his ſiſter Salome, and as many as could diſcover any thing, and ſuch as had been tortured; and beſides theſe, ſome ſlaves of Antipater's mother, who were taken up a little before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter, the ſum of which was this, that "he ſhould not come back becauſe all was come to his father's knowledge; and that Cæſar was the only refuge he had left to prevent both his and her delivery into his father's hands." Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and beſought him "not to prejudge his cauſe, but that he might be firſt heard by his father, and that his father would keep him ſtill unprejudiced." So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midſt, and then "lamented himſelf about his children, from whom he had ſuffered ſuch great misfortunes; and becauſe Antipater fell upon him in his old age. He alſo reckoned up what maintenance, and what education he had given them; and what ſeaſonable ſupplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own deſires, none of which favours had hindered them from contriving againſt him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the courſe of nature, their father's wiſhes, or juſtice, required that that kingdom ſhould come to them; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to ſuch a paſs as to be hardy enough to attempt ſuch things; that he had by his teſtament in writing declared him his ſucceſſor in the government; and while he was alive he was in no reſpect inferior to him, either in his illuſtrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no leſs than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than thirty talents. He

alſo objected to him the caſe of his brethren whom he had accuſed; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and if not, he had brought him groundleſs accuſations againſt his near relations; for that he had been acquainted with all thoſe things by him, and by no body elſe, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he now abſolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheritor of the guilt of ſuch their parricide."

4. When Herod had thus ſpoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to ſay any more; but at his deſire Nicolaus of Damaſcu, being the king's friend, and always converſant with him, and acquainted with whatſoever he did, and with the circumſtances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the demonſtrations, and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defence, turned himſelf to his father, and "enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good will to him; and inſtanced in the honours that had been done him, which yet had not been done, had he not deſerved them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made proviſion for every thing that was fit to be foreſeen before hand, as to giving him his wiſeſt advice; and whenever there was occaſion for the labours of his own hands, he had not grudged any ſuch pains for him. And that it was almoſt impoſſible that he, who had delivered his father from ſo many treacherous contrivances laid againſt him, ſhould be himſelf in a plot againſt him, and ſo loſe all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedneſs which ſucceeded it; and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who had already appointed his ſucceſſor, to enjoy the royal honour with his father alſo at preſent, and that there was no likelihood that a perſon who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, ſhould hunt after the whole infamy and danger, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he ſaw the ſad example of his brethren before him, and was both the informer and the accuſer againſt them, at a time when they might not otherwiſe have been diſcovered; nay, was the author of the puniſhment inflicted on them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt againſt their father; and that even the contentions there were in the king's family were indications that he had ever managed affairs out of the ſincereſt affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Cæſar was a witneſs thereto; who yet was no more to be impoſed upon than God himſelf: Of whoſe opinions his letters ſent hither are ſufficient evidence; and that it was not reaſonable to prefer the calumnies of ſuch as propoſed to raiſe diſturbances, before thoſe letters; the greateſt part of which calumnies had been raiſed during his abſence, which gave ſcope to his enemies to forge them, which they had not been able to do if he had been there." Moreover he

ſhewed the weakneſs of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly falſe; becauſe the diſtreſs men are in under ſuch tortures naturally obliges them to ſay many things in order to pleaſe thoſe that govern them. He alſo offered himſelf to the torture.

5. Hereupon there was a change obſerved in the aſſembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who by weeping and putting on a countenance ſuitable to his ſad caſe, made them commiſerate the ſame; inſomuch that his very enemies were moved to compaſſion; and it appeared plainly that Herod himſelf was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it ſhould be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to proſecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterneſs; and ſummed up all the evidence which aroſe from the tortures, or from the teſtimonies. "He principally and largely cried up the king's virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his ſons; while he could never gain any advantage thereby, but ſtill fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned, that he was not ſo much ſurpriſed with that thoughtleſs behaviour of his former ſons, who were but young, and were beſides corrupted by wicked counſellors, who were the occaſions of their wiping out of their minds the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a deſire of coming to the government ſooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but juſtly ſtand amazed at the horrid wickedneſs of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits beſtowed on him by his father, enough to tame his reaſon, yet could not be more tamed than the moſt envenomed ſerpents; whereas even thoſe creatures admit of ſome mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hindrance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithſtanding. Yet waſt thou, O Antipater, (as thou haſt thyſelf confeſſed,) the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the ſearcher out of the evidence againſt them, and the author of the puniſhment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we ſay this as accuſing thee for being ſo zealous in thy anger againſt them, but are aſtoniſhed at thy endeavours to imitate their profligate behaviour; and we diſcover thereby, that thou did not act thus for the ſafety of thy father, but for the deſtruction of thy brethren, that by ſuch outſide hatred of their impiety, thou mighteſt be believed a lover of thy father, and mighteſt thereby get thee power enough to do miſchief with the greateſt impunity; which deſign thy actions indeed demonſtrate. It is true, thou tookeſt thy brethren off becauſe thou didſt convict them of their wicked deſigns: But thou didſt not yield up to juſtice thoſe who were their partners; and thereby didſt make it evident to all men, that thou madeſt a covenant with them againſt thy father, when thou choſeſt to be the accuſer of thy brethren, as deſirous to gain to thyſelf alone

this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou hast openly shewed against thy brethren; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that behaviour unworthy of thee. But if thy intention were otherwise thou art worse than they; while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldest kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldest suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou who art his son did not only lay a treacherous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a written testament. But for certain, thou didst not measure these things according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and wast desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendedst to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raised disturbances among thy brethren, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast; while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sendest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the artifices of both men and women, against an old man; as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great an hatred as thou baredst to him. And here thou appearest after the tortures of free men, of domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth; and hast thought on ways not only how to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice; nay, such is that impudence of thine on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou allegest, that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father, may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures

may be eſteemed the diſcoverers of truth. Wilt not thou, O Varus deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou deſtroy this wicked wild beaſt, which hath pretended kindneſs to his father, in order to deſtroy his brethren; while yet he is himſelf alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the moſt bloody butcher to him of them all? For thou art ſenſible, that parricide is a general injury both to nature and to common life; and that the intention of parricide is not inferior to its preparation; and he who does not puniſh it, is injurious to nature itſelf."

6. Nicolaus added farther what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatſoever ſhe had prattled like a woman; as alſo about the predictions and the ſacrifices relating to the king; and whatſoever Antipater had done laſciviouſly in his cups and his amours among Pheroras's women; the examination upon torture; and whatſoever concerned the teſtimonies of the witneſſes, which were many, and of various kinds, ſome prepared before hand, and others were ſudden anſwers, which farther declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For thoſe men who were not acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they ſaw that he was expoſed to the accuſations of their former witneſſes, and that his great good fortune, which had ſupported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now inſatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now haſtened, not ſo much by the enmity of thoſe that were his accuſers, as by his groſs, and impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their houſe with diſturbance, and cauſed them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendſhip, but juſt ſo far as ſerved his own turn. Now, there were a great number who for a long time before hand had ſeen all this, and eſpecially ſuch as were naturally diſpoſed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, becauſe they were uſed to determine about affairs without paſſion, but had been reſtrained from making any open complaints before; theſe, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before the public. The demonſtrations alſo of theſe wicked facts could no way be diſproved: Becauſe the many witneſſes there were did neither ſpeak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep what they had to ſay ſilent, out of ſuſpicion of any danger they were in; but they ſpake what they knew, becauſe they thought ſuch actions very wicked, and that Antipater deſerved the greateſt puniſhment; and indeed not ſo much for Herod's ſafety, as on account of the man's own wickedneſs. Many things were alſo ſaid, that thoſe by a great number of perſons, who were no way obliged to ſay them; inſomuch, that Antipater, who uſed generally to be very ſhrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to ſay one

word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off ſpeaking, and had produced the evidence, Varus bid Antipater to betake himſelf to the making his defence, if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accuſed of; for that, as he was himſelf deſirous, ſo did he know that his father was in like manner deſirous alſo to have him found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God, and to all men, for teſtimonials of his innocency, deſiring that God would declare by ſome evident ſignals, that he had not laid any plot againſt his father. This being the uſual method of all men deſtitute of virtue, that when they ſet about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God was unconcerned in human affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the puniſhment due to their crimes, they endeavour to overthrow all the evidence againſt them, by appealing to God; which was the very thing which Antipater now did: For whereas he had done every thing as if there were no God in the world, when he was on all ſides diſtreſſed by juſtice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from any legal proofs, by which he might diſprove the accuſations laid againſt him, he impudently abuſed the majeſty of God, and aſcribed it to his power, that he had been preſerved hitherto; and produced before them all, what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father's preſervation.

7. So when Varus, upon aſking Antipater what he had to ſay for himſelf, found that he had nothing to ſay beſides his appeal to God, and ſaw that there was no end of that, he bid them bring the potion before the court, that he might ſee what virtue ſtill remained in it; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it by Varus's command, he died preſently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his uſual reſidence was, becauſe that was the palace of the Syrians; upon which Herod laid his ſon in bonds. But what were Varus's diſcourſes to Herod, was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; though it was alſo generally ſuppoſed, that whatſoever Herod did afterward about his ſon, was done with his approbation. But, when Herod had bound his ſon, he ſent letters to Rome to Cæſar about him, and ſuch meſſengers withal as ſhould, by word of mouth, inform Cæſar of Antipater's wickedneſs. Now, at this very time there was ſeized a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater out of Egypt (for he lived there;) and, when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows: "I have ſent thee Rome's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knoweſt that I am in danger from two families, if I be diſcovered. I wiſh thee

good ſucceſs in thy affair." Theſe were the contents of this letter; but the king made enquiry about the other letter alſo, for it did not appear, and Antiphilus's ſlave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends ſeeing a ſeam upon the inner coat of the ſlave, and a doubling of the cloth (for he had two coats on,) he gueſſed that the letter might be within that doubling, which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were theſe: "Acme to Antipater. I have written ſuch a letter to thy father as thou deſireſt me. I have alſo taken a copy, and ſent it, as if it came from Salome to my lady [Livia;] which, when thou readeſt, I know that Herod will puniſh Salome, as plotting againſt him." Now this pretended letter of Salome's to her lady was compoſed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as to its real meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was this: "Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavour that nothing that is done againſt thee ſhould be concealed from thee. So, upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my lady againſt thee, I have written out a copy, and ſent it thee; with hazard to myſelf, but for thy advantage. The reaſon why ſhe wrote it was this, that ſhe had a mind to be married to Sylleus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himſelf, and informed him that, in compliance with his command, ſhe had both herſelf written to Herod as if Salome had laid a ſudden plot entirely againſt him, and had herſelf ſent a copy of an epiſtle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now Acme was a Jew by birth, and a ſervant to Julia, Cæſar's wife; and did this out of her friendſhip for Antipater, as having been corrupted by him with a large preſent of money, to aſſiſt in his pernicious deſigns againſt his father and his aunt.

8. Hereupon Herod was ſo amazed at the prodigious wickedneſs of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be ſlain immediately, as a turbulent perſon in the moſt important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only againſt himſelf, but againſt his ſiſter alſo, and even corrupted Cæſar's own domeſtics. Salome alſo provoked him to it, beating her breaſt, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible teſtimony that ſhe had acted in that manner. Herod alſo ſent for his ſon and aſked him about this matter, and bid him contradict it if he could, and not ſuppreſs any thing he had to ſay for himſelf; and, when he had not one word to ſay, he aſked him, ſince he was every way caught in his villany, that he would make no farther delay, but diſcover his aſſociates in theſe his wicked deſigns. So he laid all upon Antiphilus; but diſcovered nobody elſe. Hereupon Herod was in ſuch great grief, that he was ready to ſend his ſon to Rome to Cæſar, there to give an account of theſe his wicked contriv-

ances. But he ſoon became afraid, leſt he might there, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, eſcape the danger he was in: So he kept him bound as before, and ſent more ambaſſadors and letters [to Rome] to accuſe his ſon, and an account of what aſſiſtance Acme had given him in his wicked deſigns, with copies of the epiſtles before mentioned.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Diſeaſe that Herod fell into, and the Sedition which the Jews raiſed thereupon; with the Puniſhment of the Seditious.

§ 1. NOW Herod's ambaſſadors made haſte to Rome; but went as inſtructed before hand what anſwers they were to make to the queſtions put to them. They alſo carried the epiſtles with them. But Herod now fell into a diſtemper, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas] his youngeſt ſon; and this out of that hatred to Archelaus and Philip, which the calumnies of Antipater had raiſed againſt them. He alſo bequeathed a thouſand talents to Cæſar, and five hundred to Julia, Cæſar's wife, to Cæſar's children, and friends and freed men. He alſo diſtributed among his ſons and their ſons his money, his revenues, and his lands. He alſo made Salome his ſiſter very rich, becauſe ſhe had continued faithful to him in all his circumſtances, and was never ſo raſh as to do him any harm: And as he deſpaired of recovering, for he was about the ſeventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bittereſt anger upon all occaſions; the cauſe whereof was this, that he thought himſelf deſpiſed, and that the nation was pleaſed with his misfortunes; beſides which, he reſented a ſedition which ſome of the lower ſort of men excited againſt him, the occaſion of which was as follows.

2. There was one Judas, the ſon of Saripheus, and Matthias, the ſon of Margalothus, two of the moſt eloquent men among the Jews, and the moſt celebrated interpreters of the Jewiſh laws, and men well beloved by the people, becauſe of their education of their youth; for all thoſe that were ſtudious of virtue, frequented their lectures every day. Theſe men, when they found that the king's diſtemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all thoſe works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and thereby obtain the rewards which the law will confer on them for ſuch actions of piety; for that it was truly on account of Herod's raſhneſs in making ſuch things as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this diſtemper alſo, which was ſo unuſual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him: For Herod had cauſed ſuch things to be made, which were contrary

to the law, of which he was accuſed by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now the law forbids thoſe that propoſe to live according to it, to erect images * or repreſentations of any living creature. So theſe wiſe men perſuaded [their ſcholars] to pull down the golden eagle; alledging, That "although they ſhould incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now propoſed to them, would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleaſures of life; ſince they would die for the preſervation and obſervation of the law of their fathers; ſince they would alſo acquire an everlaſting fame and commendation; ſince they would be both commended by the preſent generation, and leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to poſterity; ſince that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living ſo as to eſcape any ſuch dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for thoſe who are in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by ſuch a behaviour as may carry them out of the world with praiſe and honour; and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and at the ſame time, to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward."

3. And with ſuch diſcourſes as this did theſe men excite the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wiſe men's perſuaſions; ſo, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place, they pulled down the eagle, and cut it into pieces with axes while a great number of the people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and ſuppoſing it was a thing of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither, having a great band of ſoldiers with him, ſuch as was ſufficient to put a ſtop to the multitude of thoſe who pulled down what was dedicated to God: So he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a fooliſh preſumption rather, than a cautious circumſpection, as is uſual with the multitude, and while they were in diſorder, and incautious of what was for their advantage; ſo he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to ſtay behind when the reſt ran away, together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he had aſked

* That the making of images, without an intention to worſhip them, was not unlawful to the Jews, ſee the note on Antiq. B. VIII. ch. vii. § 5. Vol. I.

them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God? "Yes (said they), what was contrived, we contrived, and what had been performed, we performed it, and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men; for we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than they commands. Accordingly we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishment which thou canst inflict upon us, with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theatre, and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and "enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him; while the Asamoneans, during the hundred twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of God as that was: That he had also adorned it with very valuable donations; on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from affronting him, even in his life-time, but that in the very day-time, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abuse, had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to affront him; but if any one, considering the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege against God therein."

4. But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said, "What was done, was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done." But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others [of the assembly]; but he deprived Matthias of the high-priesthood, as in part an occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias's wife's brother, high-priest in his stead. Now it happened that during the time of the high-priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high-priest for a single day, that very day which the Jews observed as a fast. The occasion was this: Matthias the high-priest, on the night before that day, when

the faſt was to be celebrated, ſeemed, in a dream *, to have converſation with his wife; and becauſe he could not officiate himſelf on that account, Joſeph, the ſon of Ellemus, his kinſman, aſſiſted him in that ſacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high-prieſthood, and burnt the other Matthias, who had raiſed the ſedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was an eclipſe of the moon †.

5. But now Herod's diſtemper greatly increaſed upon him after a ſevere manner, and this by God's judgment upon him for his ſins; for a fire glowed in him ſlowly, which did not ſo much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to ſupply with one ſort of food or other. His entrails were alſo exulcerated, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his colon; an aqueous and tranſparent liquor alſo had ſettled itſelf about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Nay, farther, his privy-member was putrified, and produced worms; and when he ſat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathſome, on account of the ſtench of his breath, and the quickneſs of its returns: He had alſo convulſions in all parts of his body, which increaſed his ſtrength to an unſufferable degree. It was ſaid by thoſe who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wiſdom to foretel ſuch things, that God inflicted this puniſhment on the king, on account of his great impiety; yet was he ſtill in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions ſeemed greater than any one could bear. He alſo ſent for phyſicians, and did not refuſe to follow what they preſcribed for his aſſiſtance, and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himſelf in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe, which, beſides their other general virtues, were alſo fit to drink; which water runs into the lake called *Aſphaltitis*. And when the phyſicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a veſſel full of oil, it was ſuppoſed that he was juſt dying;

* This fact, that one Joſeph was made high-prieſt for a ſingle day, on occaſion of the action here ſpecified, that befel Matthias, the real high-prieſt, in his ſleep, the night before the great day of expiation, is atteſted to both in the Miſhna and Talmud, as Dr. Hudſon here informs us. And indeed, from this fact, this fully atteſted, we may confute that pretended rule in the Talmud here mentioned, and endeavoured to be excuſed by Reland, that the high-prieſt was not ſuffered to ſleep the night before that great day of expiation; which watching would ſurely rather unfit him for the many important duties he was to perform on that ſolemn day, than diſpoſe him duly to perform them. Nor do ſuch Talmudical rules, when unſupported by better evidence, much leſs, when contradicted thereby, ſeem to me of weight enough to deſerve that ſo great a man as Reland ſhould ſpend his time in endeavours at their vindication.

† This eclipſe of the moon (which is the only eclipſe of either of the luminaries mentioned by our Joſephus in any of his writings,) is of the greateſt conſequence for the determination of the time for the death of Herod and Antipater, and for the birth and entire chronology of Jeſus Chriſt. It happened March 13th, in the year of the Julian period 4710, and the 4th year before the Chriſtian æra. See its calculation by the rules of aſtronomy, at the end of the Aſtronological Lectures, edit. Lat. page 451, 452.

but, upon the lamentable cries of his domeſtics, he revived; and having no longer the leaſt hopes of recovering, he gave order that every ſoldier ſhould be paid fifty drachmæ; and he alſo gave a great deal to their commanders and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew ſo choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked deſigns. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewiſh nation, whereſoever they lived, ſhould be called to him. Accordingly, they were a great number that came, becauſe the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of ſuch as ſhould deſpiſe the epiſtles that were ſent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage againſt them all, the innocent as well as thoſe that had afforded ground for accuſations; and when they were come, he ordered them to be all ſhut up in the hippodrome * and ſent for his ſiſter Salome, and her huſband Alexis, and ſpake thus to them: "I ſhall die in a little time, ſo great are my pains, which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I ſhall die without being lamented; and without ſuch mourning as men uſually expect at a king's death. For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very deſirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them; becauſe during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him, and to abuſe the donations he had dedicated to God: That it therefore was their buſineſs to reſolve to afford him ſome alleviation of his great ſorrows on this occaſion; for that, if they do not refuſe him their conſent in what he deſires, he ſhall have a great mourning at his funeral, and ſuch as never any king had before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very ſoul, which otherwiſe would be done in ſport and mockery only. He deſired therefore that as ſoon as they ſee he hath given up the ghoſt, they ſhall place ſoldiers round the hippodrome, while they do not know that he is dead; and that they ſhall not declare his death to the multitude till this is done, but that they ſhall give orders to have thoſe that are in cuſtody ſhot with their darts; and that this ſlaughter of them all will cauſe that he ſhall not miſs to rejoice on a double account. That as he is dying, they will make him ſecure that his will ſhall be executed in what he charges them to do; and that he ſhall have the honour of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition, with tears in his eyes, and obteſted them by the kindneſs due from them, as of his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God, and begged of them that they would not hinder him of this honourable mourning at his funeral." So they promiſed him not to tranſgreſs his commands.

* A place for the horſe-races.

6. Now any one may easily discover the temper of this man's mind, which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life, but by those commands of his which favoured of no humanity: Since he took care when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning, and indeed made desolate of their dearest kindred, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes; while it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue, to lay aside their hatred at such a time, even with respect to those they justly esteemed their enemies.

CHAP. VII.

Herod has thoughts of Killing himself with his own hand; and a little afterwards he orders Antipater to be slain.

§ 1. AS he was giving these commands to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome unto Cæsar, which when they were read, their purport was this: That "Acme was slain by Cæsar, out of his indignation at what hand she had in Antipater's wicked practices; and that as to Antipater himself, Cæsar left it to Herod to act as became a father and a king, and either to banish him, or take away his life, which he pleased." When Herod heard this, he was somewhat better, out of the pleasure he had from the contents of the letters, and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son; but as his pains were become very great, he was now ready to faint for want of somewhat to eat; so he called for an apple, and a knife; for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut it, and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and he had done it, had not his first cousin Achiabus prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado; so he discoursed with the jailor about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailor did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had from him [of that nature]. Hereupon Herod,

who had formerly no affection nor good will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailor said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any farther delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Herod's Death, and Testament, and Burial.

§ 1. AND now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip, who was his son, but own brother * to Archelaus, by the name of tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of silver that was coined. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Cæsar ten millions [of drachmæ] of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Cæsar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned, since he had procured Antigonus † to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right: Yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for, from a private man he became a king; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family

* When it is here said that Philip the tetrarch, and Archelaus the king, or ethnarch, were ἀδελφοὶ γνήσιοι, or *genuine brothers*, if those words mean *own brothers*, or born of the same father and mother, there must be here some mistake; because they had indeed the same father, Herod, but different mothers; the former Cleopatra, and Archelaus Malthace. They were indeed brought up altogether privately at Rome like own brothers; and Philip was Archelaus's deputy when he went to have his kingdom confirmed to him at Rome; ch. ix. § 3. and Of the War, B. II. ch. ii. § 1. Vol. III. which intimacy is perhaps all that Josephus intended by the words before us.

† These numbers of years for Herod's reign, 34 and 37, are the very same with those of the War, B. I. ch. xxxiii. § 8. Vol. III. and are among the principal chronological characters belonging to the reign or death of Herod. See Harm. of the Evang. page 150—155.

and children, in which indeed, according to his own opinion, he was alſo very fortunate, becauſe he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

2. But when Salome and Alexis, before the king's death was made known, diſmiſſed thoſe that were ſhut up in the hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was eſteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexis gathered the ſoldiery together in the amphitheatre at Jericho; and the firſt thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the ſoldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good will to him, and exhorting them to afford his ſon Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good will. After which Ptolemy, who had the king's ſeal entruſted to him, read the king's teſtament, which was to be of force no otherwiſe than as it ſhould ſtand when Cæſar had inſpected it: So there was preſently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king, and the ſoldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promiſed the ſame good will to him, and readineſs to ſerve him, which they had exhibited to Herod; and they prayed God to be aſſiſtant to him.

3. After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the proceſſion to his father's ſepulchre ſhould be very ſumptuous. Accordingly he brought out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious ſtones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itſelf: He had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold; he alſo had a ſceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his ſons and his numerous relations; next to theſe was the ſoldiery, diſtinguiſhed according to their ſeveral countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order: Firſt of all went his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind theſe marched the whole army in the ſame manner as they uſed to go out to war; and as they uſed to be put in array by their muſter-maſters and centurions; theſe were followed by five hundred of his domeſtics, carrying ſpices. So they went eight furlongs*, to Herodium; for there, by his own command, he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life.

4. Now Archelaus paid him ſo much reſpect, as to continue his mourning till the ſeventh day; for ſo many days are ap-

* At eight *ſtadia* or furlongs a-day, as here, Herod's funeral, conducted to Herodium (which lay at the diſtance from Jericho, where he died, of 200 *ſtadia* or furlongs; Of the War, B. I. ch. xxxiii. § 9. Vol. III), muſt have taken up no leſs than twenty-five days.

pointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamations and praises given him, which way soever he went, every one striving with the rest who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended an high elevation made for him, and took his seat in a throne made of gold, and spake kindly to the multitude, and declared, "with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good will they shewed to him; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them, to his disadvantage; and promised them he would endeavour not to be behind hand with them in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the name of king, and that he should have the honour of that dignity, if Cæsar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who has to be principally concerned in bestowing it, would give it him; although, by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him; and that it should be his endeavour, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove, in every respect, better than his father." Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first days of those that enter upon such governments, declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how much Archelaus spake the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamour that he would ease them of some of their annual payments; but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; others of them required that he would take away those taxes which had been severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good will of the multitude to him, as looking upon that good will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

CHAP. IX.

How the People raiſed a Sedition againſt Archelaus, and how he Sailed to Rome.

§ 1. AT this time alſo it was, that ſome of the Jews got together, out of a deſire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and thoſe that were ſlain with him by Herod, who had not any reſpect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of that man; they were thoſe who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamour and lamentation hereupon, and caſt out ſome reproaches againſt the king alſo, as if that tended to alleviate the miſeries of the deceaſed. Theſe people aſſembled together, and deſired of Archelaus, that, in way of revenge on their account, he would inflict puniſhment on thoſe who had been honoured by Herod; and that, in the firſt and principal place, he would deprive that high-prieſt whom Herod had made, and would chooſe one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high-prieſt. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, becauſe he propoſed to himſelf to go to Rome immediately, to look after Cæſar's determination about him. However, he ſent the general of his forces to uſe perſuaſions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends, was according to the law; and to repreſent to them, that their petitions about theſe things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the time was not now proper for ſuch petitions but required their unanimity until ſuch time as he ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the government by the conſent of Cæſar, and ſhould then be come back to them; for that he would then conſult with them in common concerning the purport of their petitions, but that they ought at preſent to be quiet, leſt they ſhould ſeem ſeditious perſons.

2. So when the king had ſuggeſted theſe things, and inſtructed his general in what he was to ſay, he ſent him away to the people; but they made a clamour, and would not give him leave to ſpeak, and put him in danger of his life, and as many more as were deſirous to venture upon ſaying openly any thing which might reduce them to a ſober mind, and prevent their going on in their preſent courſes; becauſe they had more concern to have all their own wills performed, than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing inſufferable, that, while Herod was alive, they ſhould loſe thoſe that were the moſt dear to them, and that when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be puniſhed. So they went on with their deſigns after a violent manner, and

thought all to be lawful and right which tended to pleaſe them, and being unſkilful in foreſeeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had ſuſpicion of ſuch a thing, yet did the preſent pleaſure they took in the puniſhment of thoſe they deemed their enemies, overweigh all ſuch conſiderations; and although Archelaus ſent many to ſpeak to them, yet they treated them not as meſſengers ſent by him, but as perſons that came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not let one of them ſpeak. The ſedition alſo was made by ſuch as were in a great paſſion; and it was evident that they were proceeding farther in ſeditious practices, by the multitude's running ſo faſt upon them.

3. Now upon the approach of that feaſt of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which feaſt is called the Paſſover,* and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt (when they offer ſacrifices with great alacrity, and when they are required to ſlay more ſacrifices in number than at any other feſtival; and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay from beyond its limits alſo, in order to worſhip God;) the ſeditious lamented Judas and Matthias, thoſe teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food, becauſe theſe ſeditious perſons were not aſhamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid leſt ſome terrible thing ſhould ſpring up by means of theſe mens madneſs, he ſent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thouſand, to ſuppreſs the violent efforts of the ſeditious, before the whole multitude ſhould be infected with the like madneſs; and gave them this charge, that if they found any much more openly ſeditious than others, and more buſy in tumultuous practices, they ſhould bring them to him. But thoſe that were ſeditious on account of thoſe teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noiſe and clamours they uſed to encourage the people in their deſigns; ſo they made an aſſault upon the ſoldiers, and came up to them, and ſtoned the greateſt part of them, although ſome of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them; and when they had thus done, they returned to the ſacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preſerve the entire government, but by cutting off thoſe who made this attempt upon it; ſo he ſent out the whole army upon them, and ſent the horſemen to prevent thoſe that had their tents without the temple, from aſſiſting thoſe that were within the temple, and to kill ſuch as ran away from the footmen, when they thought themſelves out of danger, which horſemen ſlew three thouſand men, while the reſt went to the neighbouring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they

* This paſſover, when the ſedition here mentioned was moved againſt Archelaus, was not one, but thirteen months after the eclipſe of the moon already mentioned.

ſhould retire to their own homes; ſo they went away, and left the feſtival out of fear of ſomewhat worſe which would follow, although they had been ſo bold by reaſon of their want of inſtruction. So Archelaus went down to the ſea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many others of his friends, and left Philip his brother as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public. There went out alſo with him Salome, Herod's ſiſter, who took with her her children, and many of her kindred were with her; which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to aſſiſt Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppoſe him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Cæſar's ſteward for Syrian affairs, as he was making haſte into Judea, to preſerve Herod's effects, met with Archelaus at Cæſarea; but Varus (preſident of Syria) came at that time, and reſtrained him from meddling with them, for he was there as ſent for by Archelaus, by the means of Ptolemy. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither ſeize upon any of the caſtles that were among the Jews, nor did he ſeal up the treaſures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Cæſar ſhould declare his reſolution about them; ſo that, upon this his promiſe, he tarried ſtill at Cæſarea. But after Archelaus was ſailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jeruſalem, and ſeized on the king's palace. He alſo ſent for the keepers of the garriſons, and for all thoſe that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly, that he ſhould require them to give an account of what they had; and he diſpoſed of the caſtles in the manner he pleaſed; but thoſe who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretence was, that they kept them all for Cæſar.

4. At the ſame time alſo did Antipas, another of Herod's ſons, ſail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promiſes, that he ſhould take that government; and that he was a much honeſter and fitter man than Archelaus, for that authority; ſince Herod had, in his former teſtament, deemed him the worthieſt to be made king, which ought to be eſteemed more valid than his latter teſtament. Antipas alſo brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, one that had been Herod's moſt honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas: But it was Ireneus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for ſagacity, was entruſted with the affairs of the kingdom, who moſt of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom; by whoſe means it was, that when ſome adviſed him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's laſt will, he would not ſubmit ſo to do. And when he was come to Rome, all

his relations revolted to him; not out of their good will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were moſt of all deſirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but, if there were too great an oppoſition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and ſo joined with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus alſo by letters, accuſed Archelaus to Cæſar.

5. Now when Archelaus had ſent in his papers to Cæſar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's teſtament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's ſeal, he ſo expected the event; but when Cæſar had read theſe papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the accounts of the money, and what were the annual incomes of the kingdom, and underſtood that Antipas had alſo ſent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he ſummoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the ſon of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him, and made him ſit firſt of all, and deſired ſuch as pleaſed to ſpeak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's ſon, a very ſubtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, ſpake firſt to this purpoſe: That "it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now, to have the kingdom given him, ſince he had, in reality, taken already the power over it to himſelf before Cæſar had granted it to him; and appealed to thoſe bold actions of his, in deſtroying ſo many at the Jewiſh feſtival; and, if the men had acted unjuſtly, it was but fit the puniſhing them ſhould have been reſerved to thoſe that were out of the country, but had the power to puniſh them, and not been executed by a man, that if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Cæſar, by uſurping that authority before it was determined for him by Cæſar; but, if he owned himſelf to be a private perſon, his caſe was much worſe, ſince he who was putting in for the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Cæſar [by taking it to himſelf.] He alſo touched ſharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his ſitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of law ſuits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed alſo to his conceſſions to thoſe that petitioned him on a publick account, and indeed doing ſuch things, than which he could deviſe no greater if he had been already ſettled in the kingdom by Cæſar. He alſo aſcribed to him the releaſing of the priſoners that were in the hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and eaſily might be believed to have been done, becauſe they were of ſuch a nature as to be uſually done by young men, and by ſuch as, out of a deſire of ruling, ſeize

upon the government too ſoon. He alſo charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry meetings the very night in which he died; and that it was thence the multitude took the handle of raiſing a tumult; and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had beſtowed ſuch benefits upon him, and bequeathed ſuch great things to him, by pretending to ſhed tears for him in the day time, like an actor on the ſtage, but every night making mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the ſame Archelaus with regard to Cæſar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he hath been to his father; ſince he had then dancing and ſinging, as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral, that was ſo nearly related, and had been ſo great a benefactor to him. But he ſaid that the greateſt crime of all was this, that he came now before Cæſar to obtain the kingdom by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Cæſar himſelf, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he moſt aggravated in his pleading, was the ſlaughter of thoſe about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the feſtival; and how they were ſlain like ſacrifices themſelves, ſome of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies: And all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never ſo much as dreamed of making him his ſucceſſor in the kingdom, when he was of ſo ſound a mind, becauſe he knew his diſpoſition; and, in his former and more authentic teſtament, he appointed his antagoniſt Antipas to ſucceed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity, when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind, while Antipas was called when he was ripeſt in his judgment, and of ſuch ſtrength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs: And if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now ſhewed, yet hath he given a ſufficient ſpecimen what a king he is likely to be, when he hath [in effect] deprived Cæſar of that power of diſpoſing of the kingdom, which he juſtly hath, and hath not abſtained from making a terrible ſlaughter of his fellow citizens in the temple, while he was but a private perſon."

6. So when Antipater had made this ſpeech, and had confirmed what he had ſaid by producing many witneſſes from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. Upon which Nicolaus aroſe up to plead for Archelaus, and ſaid, "That what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of thoſe that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus; for that thoſe, who were the authors of ſuch things are not only wicked in the injuries they

do of themſelves, but in forcing ſober perſons to avenge themſelves upon them. Now it is evident, that what theſe did in way of oppoſition was done under pretence indeed againſt Archelaus, but in reality againſt Cæſar himſelf, for they after an injurious manner, attacked and ſlew thoſe who were ſent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a ſtop to their doings. They had no regard, either to God or to the feſtival, whom Antipater yet is not aſhamed to patronize, whether it be out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and juſtice. For as to thoſe who begin ſuch tumults, and firſt ſet about ſuch unrighteous actions, they are the men who force thoſe that puniſh them to betake themſelves to arms even againſt their will. So that Antipater in effect aſcribes the reſt of what was done to all thoſe who were of counſel to the accuſers, for nothing which is here accuſed of injuſtice has been done, but what was derived from them as its authors; nor are thoſe things evil in themſelves, but ſo repreſented only in order to do harm to Archelaus. Such is theſe mens inclinations to do an injury to a man that is of their kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarly acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendſhip with them; for that, as to this teſtament, it was made by the king when he was of a ſound mind, and ſo ought to be of more authority than his former teſtament; and that for this reaſon, becauſe Cæſar is therein left to be the judge and diſpoſer of all therein contained; and for Cæſar he will not, to be ſure, at all imitate the unjuſt proceedings of thoſe men, who, during Herod's whole life, had on all occaſions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet do zealouſly endeavour to injure his determination, while they have not themſelves had the ſame regard to their kinſmen, [which Archelaus had,] Cæſar will not therefore diſannul the teſtament of a man whom he had entirely ſupported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in truſt to ratify: Nor will Cæſar's virtuous and upright diſpoſition, which are known and unconteſted through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedneſs of theſe men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having loſt his reaſon, while he hath bequeathed the ſucceſſion to a good ſon of his, and to one who flies to Cæſar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been miſtaken in his judgment about a ſucceſſor, while he ſhewed ſo much prudence as to ſubmit all to Cæſar's determination."

7. Now when Nicolaus had laid theſe things before Cæſar, he ended his plea; whereupon Cæſar was ſo obliging to Archelaus, that he raiſed him up when he had caſt himſelf down at his feet, and ſaid, that "he well deſerved the kingdom;" and he ſoon let them know, that he was ſo far moved in his favour, that he would not act otherwiſe than his father's teſtament directed and than was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to

depend on him ſecurely, he made no full determination about him; and, when the aſſembly was broken up, he conſidered by himſelf, whether he ſhould confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he ſhould part it among all Herod's poſterity; and this becauſe they all ſtood in need of much aſſiſtance to ſupport them.

CHAP. X.

A Sedition of the Jews againſt Sabinus; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to Puniſhment.

§ 1. BUT before theſe things could be brought to a ſettlement, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell into a diſtemper, and died of it; and letters came from Varus, the preſident of Syria, which informed Cæſar of the revolt of the Jews; for, after Archelaus was ſailed, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, ſince he was there himſelf, brought the authors of the diſturbance to puniſhment; and when he had reſtrained them for the moſt part from this ſedition, which was a great one, he took his journey to Antioch, leaving one legion of his army at Jeruſalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their ſedition; for after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Cæſar's procurator, ſtaid behind, and greatly diſtreſſed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there, that they would by their multitude protect him; for he made uſe of them, and armed them as his guards, thereby ſo oppreſſing the Jews, and giving them ſo great diſturbance, that at length they rebelled; for he uſed force in ſeizing the citadels, and zealouſly preſſed on the ſearch after the king's money, in order to ſeize upon it by force, on account of his love of gain, and his extraordinary covetouſneſs.

2. But the approach of Pentecoſt, which is a feſtival of ours ſo called from the days of our forefathers, a great many ten thouſands of men got together; nor did they come only to celebrate the feſtival, but out of their indignation at the madneſs of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had paſſed over the river Jordan, and inhabited thoſe parts. This whole multitude joined themſelves to all the reſt, and were more zealous than the others in making an aſſault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged on him: So they parted themſelves into three bands, and encamped themſelves in the places following: Some of them ſeized on the Hipodrome, and of the other two bands, one pitched themſelves from the northern part of the temple to the ſouthern, on the eaſt quarter; but the third band held the weſtern part of the city, where the king's palace was. Their

work tended entirely to beſiege the Romans, and to incloſe them on all ſides. Now Sabinus was afraid of theſe mens number, and of their reſolution, who had little regard to their lives, but were very deſirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of puiſſance to overcome their enemies; ſo he ſent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as he uſed to do, was very preſſing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his aſſiſtance; becauſe the forces he had left were in iminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be ſeized upon, and cut to pieces; while he did himſelf get up to the higheſt tower of the fortreſs Phaſaelus, which had been built in honour of Phaſaelus, king Herod's brother, and called ſo when the * Parthians had brought him to his death. So Sabinus gave thence a ſignal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himſelf venture ſo much as to come down to his friends and thought he might expect that the others ſhould expoſe themſelves firſt to die on account of his avarice. However the Romans ventured to make a ſally out of the place, and a terrible battle enſued; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adverſaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their reſolutions, even when they had the ſight of that terrible ſlaughter that was made of them; but they went round about, and got upon thoſe cloiſters, which encompaſſed the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was ſtill continued, and they caſt ſtones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly with ſlings, as being much uſed to thoſe exerciſes. All the archers alſo in array did the Romans a great deal of miſchief; becauſe they uſed their hands dextrouſly from a place ſuperior to the others, and becauſe the others were at an utter loſs what to do; for when they tried to ſhoot their arrows againſt the Jews upwards, theſe arrows could not reach them, inſomuch that the Jews were eaſily too hard for their enemies. And this ſort of fight laſted a great while, till at laſt the Romans, who were greatly diſtreſſed by what was done, ſet fire to the cloiſters ſo privately, that thoſe who were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire † being fed by a great deal of combuſtible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloiſters; ſo the wood which was full of pitch and wax, and whoſe gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame preſently and thoſe vaſt works which were of the higheſt value and eſteem, were deſtroyed utterly, while thoſe that were on the roof unexpectedly periſhed at the ſame time; for as the roof tumbled down,

* See Antiq. B. XIV. ch. xiii. § 10 Vol. II. and, Of the War, B. II. ch. xxi. § 9. Vol. III.

† Theſe great devaſtations made about the temple here, and, Of the War, B. II. ch. lii. § 3. Vol. III. ſeem not to have been fully re-edified in the days of Nero; till whole time there were 18000 workmen continually employed in rebuilding and repairing that temple, as Joſephus informs us, Antiq. B. XX. ch. ix. § 7. Vol. II. See the note on that place.

ſome of theſe men tumbled down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompaſſed them. There was a great number more, who out of deſpair of ſaving their lives, and out of aſtoniſhment at the miſery that ſurrounded them, did either caſt themſelves into the fire, or threw themſelves upon their own ſwords, and ſo got out of their miſery. But as to thoſe that retired behind the ſame way by which they aſcended, and thereby eſcaped, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, becauſe they were deſtitute of armour, inſomuch that, of thoſe that went up to the top of the roof, not one eſcaped. The Romans alſo ruſhed through the fire, where it gave them room ſo to do, and ſeized on that treaſure where the ſacred money was repoſited; a great part of which was ſtolen by the ſoldiers and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

3. But this calamity of the Jews friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them, as did alſo this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly that body of them which continued beſt together, and was the moſt warlike, encompaſſed the palace, and threatened to ſet fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet ſtill they commanded them to go out preſently, and promiſed, that if they would do ſo, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither, at which time the greateſt part of the king's troops deſerted to them, while Rufus and Gratus who had three thouſand of the moſt warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was alſo a band of horſemen under the command of Rufus, which itſelf went over to the Romans alſo. However the Jews went on with the ſiege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and beſought thoſe that were gone over to the other ſide, not to be their hindrance, now they had ſuch a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he was deſirous of going away with his ſoldiers, but was not able to truſt himſelf with the enemy, on account of what miſchief he had already done them; and he took this great [pretended] lenity of theirs for an argument why he ſhould not comply with them; and ſo becauſe he expected that Varus was coming, he ſtill bore the ſiege.

4. Now at this time there were ten thouſand other diſorders in Judea, which were like tumults; becauſe a great number put themſelves into a warlike poſture, either out of hopes of gain to themſelves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particular, two thouſand of Herod's old ſoldiers, who had been already diſbanded, got together in Judea itſelf, and fought againſt the king's troops; although Achiabus, Herod's firſt couſin oppoſed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by the military ſkill of thoſe men, he kept himſelf in the faſtneſſes that were there, and ſaved what he could.

5. There was also Judas, * the son of that Ezekias who had been head of the robbers; which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas having gotten together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sephoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there] and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carrid awy what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as the reward, not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

6. There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many other of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him, to take what was left in them for a prey; and he would have done greater things unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and a long fight, no small part of those that came from Perea who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in skilful manner, were destroyed; and although Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace also at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down by a party of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a great and a wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the

* Unless this Judas, the son of Ezekias, be the same with that Theudas mentioned, Acts v. 36. Josephus must have omitted him; for that other Theudas, whom he afterward mentions under Fadus, the Roman governor, B. *XX.* ch. v. § 1. vol. II is much too late to correspond to him that is mentioned in the acts. The names *Theudas*, *Thaudeus*, and *Judas*, differ but little. See Abp Usher's Annals at A. M 4001. However, since Josephus does not pretend to reckon up the heads of all those *ten thousand* disorders in Judea, which he tells us were then abroad, see § 8. 4. and 8. the Theudas of the Acts might be at the head of one of those seditions, though not particularly named by him. Thus he informs us here, sect. 6. and Of the War, B. II ch. iv. sect. 2. Vol. III. that certain of the seditious came and burnt the royal palace at Amathus, or Betharamphta, upon the river Jordan. Perhaps their leader, who is not named by Josephus, might be this Theudas.

multitude in good order, and becauſe thoſe foreigners, who came to reduce the ſeditious to ſobriety, did on the contrary ſet them more in a flame, becauſe of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs.

7. But becauſe Athronges, a perſon neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was poſſeſſed of, but one that had in all reſpects been a ſhepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet becauſe he was a tall man, and excelled others in the ſtrength of his hands, he was ſo bold as to ſet up for king. This man thought it ſo ſweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he ſhould be killed, he did not much care if he loſt his life in ſo great a deſign. He had alſo four brethren, who were tall men themſelves and were believed to be ſuperior to others in the ſtrength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that ſtrength of theirs would ſupport them in retaining the kingdom. Each of theſe ruled over a band of men of their own; for thoſe that got together to them were very numerous. They were every one of them alſo commanders; but, when they came to fight they were ſubordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put a diadem about his head, and aſſembled a council to debate about what things ſhould be done, and all things were done according to his pleaſure. And this man retained his power a great while; he was alſo called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleaſed. He alſo, as well as his brethren, ſlew a great many both of the Romans, and of the king's forces, and managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, becauſe of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, becauſe of the injuries they had ſo lately received from them. But in proceſs of time, they grew more cruel to all ſorts of men; nor could any one eſcape from one or other of theſe ſeditions, ſince they ſlew ſome out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere cuſtom of ſlaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and ſhot forty of the beſt of his foot ſoldiers; but the reſt of them were affrighted at their ſlaughter, and left their dead behind them, but ſaved themſelves by the means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him to their aſſiſtance. Now theſe four brethren continued the war a long while by ſuch ſort of expeditions, and much grieved the Romans; but did their own nation alſo a great deal of miſchief. Yet were they afterward ſubdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; Archelaus alſo took the eldeſt of them priſoner; while the laſt of them was ſo dejected at the other's misfortune and ſaw ſo plainly that he had no way now left to ſave himſelf, his army being worn

away with ſickneſs and continual labours that he alſo delivered himſelf up to Archelaus, upon his promiſe and oath to God [to preſerve his life.] But theſe things came to paſs a good while afterward.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and, as the ſeveral companies of the ſeditious light upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do miſchief to the public. They were in ſome ſmall meaſure indeed, and in ſmall matters hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people laſted a long while.

9. As ſoon as Varus was once informed of the ſtate of Judea by Sabinus's writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left there; ſo he took the two other legions, (for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria) and four troops of horſemen, with the ſeveral auxiliary forces which either the kings, or certain of the tetrarches, afforded him, and made what haſte he could to aſſiſt thoſe that were then beſieged in Judea. He alſo gave order, that all that were ſent out for this expedition ſhould make haſte to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus alſo gave him 1500 auxiliaries, as he paſſed through their city. Aretas alſo, the king of Arabia Petrea, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchaſe the favour of the Romans, ſent him no ſmall aſſiſtance, beſides their footmen and horſemen; and, when he had now collected all his forces together, he committed part of them to his ſon, and to a friend of his, and ſent them upon an expedition into Galilee which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais; who made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants ſlaves and burnt the city. But Varus himſelf purſued his march for Samaria with his whole army: Yet did not he meddle with the city of that name, becauſe it had not at all joined with the ſeditious; but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, whoſe name was *Arus*, which the Arabians burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends; whence they marched to another village, whoſe name was Sampho, which the Arabians plundered and burnt, although it was a fortified and a ſtrong place; and all along this march nothing eſcaped them, but all places were full of fire and of ſlaughter. Emmaus was alſo burnt by Varus's order, after its inhabitants had deſerted it, that he might avenge thoſe that had there been deſtroyed. From thence he now marched to Jeruſalem; whereupon thoſe Jews whoſe camp lay there, and who had beſieged the Roman legion, not bearing the coming of this army, left the ſiege imperfect: But as to the Jeruſalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themſelves of the accuſation, and alledged, that the conflux of the people was occaſioned by the feaſt; that the war was not made with their approbation, but the raſhneſs of

the ſtrangers, while they were on the ſide of the Romans, and beſieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to beſiege them. There alſo came before hand to meet Varus, Joſeph, the couſin-german of king Herod, as alſo Gratus and Ruſus, who brought their ſoldiers along with them, together with thoſe Romans who had been beſieged: But Sabinus did not come into Varus's preſence, but ſtole out of the city privately, and went to the ſea-ſide.

10. Upon this Varus ſent a part of his army into the country, to ſeek out thoſe that had been the authors of the revolt; and when they were diſcovered, he puniſhed ſome of them that were moſt guilty, and ſome he diſmiſſed: Now the number of thoſe that were crucified on this account, were two thouſand. After which he diſbanded his army, which he found noways uſeful to him in the affairs he came about; for they behaved themſelves very diſorderly, and diſobeyed his orders, and what Varus deſired them to do, and this out of regard to that gain which they made by the miſchief they did. As for himſelf, when he was informed that ten thouſand Jews had gotten together, he made haſte to catch them; but they did not proceed ſo far as to fight him, but, by the advice of Achiabus, they came together, and delivered themſelves up to him: Hereupon Varus forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude, but ſent their ſeveral commanders to Cæſar, many of whom Cæſar diſmiſſed; but for the ſeveral relations of Herod who had been among theſe men in this war, they were the only perſons whom he puniſhed, who, without the leaſt regard to juſtice, fought againſt their own kindred.

CHAP. XI.

An Ambaſſage of the Jews to Cæſar; and how Cæſar confirmed Herod's Teſtament.

§ 1. SO when Varus had ſettled theſe affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jeruſalem, he returned back to Antioch; but as for Archelaus, he had new ſources of trouble came upon him at Rome, on the occaſions following: For an ambaſſage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to ſend it, that they might petition for the liberty * of living by their own laws. Now the number of the ambaſſadors that were ſent by the authority of the nation was fifty, to which they joined above eight thouſand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Cæſar aſſembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans in the temple of Apollo †, which he had built at a vaſt charge; whither

* See Of the War, B. II. ch. ii. ſect. 3. Vol. III.
† See the note, Of the War, B. II. ch. vi. ſect. 1. Vol. III.

the ambaſſadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there already, came with them, as did alſo Archelaus and his friends; but as for the ſeveral kinſmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themſelves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too groſs a thing for them to aſſiſt the ambaſſadors [againſt him], as ſuppoſing it would be a diſgrace to them in Cæſar's opinion to think of thus acting in oppoſition to a man of their own kindred*. Philip alſo was come hither out of Syria, by the perſuaſion of Varus, with this principal intention to aſſiſt his brother [Archelaus]; for Varus was his great friend; but ſtill ſo, that if there ſhould any change happen in the form of government (which Varus ſuſpected there would), and if any diſtribution ſhould be made on account of the number that deſired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be diſappointed, but might have his ſhare in it.

2. Now, upon the liberty that was given to the Jewiſh ambaſſadors to ſpeak, they who hoped to obtain a diſſolution of kingly government betook themſelves to accuſe Herod of his iniquities; and they declared, "That he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himſelf that uncontroulable authority which tyrants exerciſe over their ſubjects, and had made uſe of that authority for the deſtruction of the Jews, and did not abſtain from making many innovations among them beſides according to his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who periſhed by that deſtruction he brought upon them, ſo many indeed as no other hiſtory relates, they that ſurvived were far more miſerable than thoſe that ſuffered under him, not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and diſpoſition towards them, but from the danger their eſtates were in of being taken away by him. That he did never leave off adorning theſe cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but ſo that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly deſtroyed: That whereas when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flouriſhing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmoſt degree of poverty; and when, upon unjuſt pretences, he had ſlain any of the nobility, he took away their eſtates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they poſſeſſed. And beſides the annual impoſitions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal preſents to himſelf, to his domeſtics and friends, and to ſuch of his ſlaves as were vouchſafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers; becauſe there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjuſt violence, without giving either gold or ſilver for it. That they would ſay nothing of the corruption of the chaſtity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for in-

* He was tetrarch afterward.

continency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nations had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation: That it was for this reason, that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay; and he immediately, let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonging to Cæsar, who could either give it to him, or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How then could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, hath added this as one of our crimes that we have opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority?" Now the main thing they desired was this, That "they might be delivered from kingly * and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby be made evident, whether they be really a seditious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they

* If any one compare that divine prediction concerning the tyrannical power which Jewish kings would exercise over them, if they would be so foolish as to prefer it before their ancient theocracy or aristocracy, 1 Sam. viii. 1—22. Antiq. B. I. ch. iv. sect. 4. Vol. I. he will soon find that it was super-abundantly fulfilled in the days of Herod, and that to such a degree, that the nation now at last seem sorely to repent of such their ancient choice, in opposition to God's better choice for them, and had much rather be subject to even a Pagan Roman government, and their deputies, than to be any longer under the oppression of the family of Herod; which request of theirs Augustus did not now grant them, but did it for the one half of that nation in a few years afterward, upon fresh complaints made by the Jews against Archelaus, who, under the more humble name of an ethnarch, which Augustus only would now allow him, soon took upon him the insolence and tyranny of his father king Herod, as the remaining part of this book will inform us, and particularly chap. xiii sect. 2.

would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any ſort of moderation ſet over them."

3. Now when the Jews had ſaid this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from thoſe accuſations, and ſaid, That "as for Herod, ſince he had never been thus accuſed * all the time of his life, it was not fit for thoſe that might have accuſed them of leſſer crimes than thoſe now mentioned, and might have procured him to be puniſhed during his life time, to bring an accuſation againſt him now he is dead. He alſo attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews injuries to him, who affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill thoſe that would have hindered them from acting unjuſtly, when they were by him puniſhed for what they had done, made their complaints againſt him; ſo he accuſed them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleaſure they took in ſedition, by reaſon of their not having learned to ſubmit to juſtice, and to the laws, but ſtill deſiring to be ſuperior in all things." This was the ſubſtance of what Nicolaus ſaid.

4. When Cæſar had heard theſe pleadings, he diſſolved the aſſembly; but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of the one half of that which had been ſubject to Herod, and promiſed to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuouſly. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's ſons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who diſputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted † annually two hundred talents, while Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as

* This is not true. See Antiq. B. *XIV.* ch. ix. ſect 3. 4. and ch. xii. ſect. 2. and ch. xiii. ſect. 1. 2. Antiq. B. *XV.* ch. iii. ſect. 5. and ch. x. ſect. 2. 3. Antiq. B. *XVI.* ch. ix. ſect. 3. Vol. II.

† Since Joſephus here informs us that Archelaus had one-half of the kingdom of Herod, and preſently informs us farther, that Archelaus's annual income, after an abatement of one quarter for the preſent, was 600 talents, we may therefore gather pretty nearly what was Herod the Great's yearly income, I mean about 1600 talents, which, at the known value of 3000 ſhekels to a talent, and about 2s. 10d. to a ſhekel, in the days of Joſephus, ſee the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. viii. ſect. 2. Vol. I. amounts to L. 680,000 Sterling *per annum*; which income, though great in itſelf, bearing no proportion to his vaſt expences every where viſible in Joſephus, and to the vaſt ſums he left behind him in his will, chap viii. ſect 1. and chap. xii. ſect 1. the reſt muſt have ariſen either from his confiſcation of thoſe great men's eſtates whom he put to death, or made to pay fine for the ſaving of their lives, or from ſome other heavy methods of oppreſſion which ſuch ſavage tyrants uſually exerciſe upon their miſerable ſubjects; or rather from theſe ſeveral methods put together. all which yet ſeem very much too ſmall for his expences being drawn from no larger a nation than that of the Jews, which was very populous, but without the advantage of trade, to bring them riches; ſo that I cannot but ſtrongly ſuſpect that no ſmall part of this his wealth aroſe from another ſource, I mean from ſome vaſt ſums he took out of David's ſepulchre, but concealed from the people. See the note on Antiq. B. VII ch. xv. ſect. 3. vol. I.

Auranitis, with a certain * part of what was called the *houſe of Zenodorus*, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Cæſar, who decreed them that mitigation, becauſe they did not join in this revolt with the reſt of the multitude. There were alſo certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, Strato's tower, and Sebaſte, with Joppa and Jeruſalem; for as to Gaza and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Cæſar ſeparated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions, amounted to ſix hundred talents.

5. And ſo much came to Herod's ſons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, beſides what her brother left her by his teſtament, which were Jamnia, and Aſhdod, and Phaſaelis, and five hundred thouſand [drachmæ] of coined ſilver, Cæſar made her a preſent of a royal habitation at Aſkelon; in all, her revenues amounted to ſixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-houſe was within Archelaus's government. The reſt alſo of the king's relations received what his teſtament allotted them. Moreover, Cæſar made a preſent to each of Herod's two Virgin-daughters, beſides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thouſand [drachmæ] of ſilver, and married them to Pherora's ſons: He alſo granted all that was bequeathed to himſelf to the king's ſons, which was one thouſand five hundred talents, excepting a few of the veſſels, which he reſerved for himſelf; and they were acceptable to him, not ſo much for the great value they were of as becauſe they were memorials of the king to him.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning a ſpurious Alexander.

§ 1. WHEN theſe affairs had been thus ſettled by Cæſar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought

* Take here a very uſeful note of Grotius, on Luke, B. III. ch. i. here quoted by Dr. Hudſon: "When Joſephus ſays that ſome part of the houſe [or poſſeſſion] of Zenodorus (i. e. Abilene,) was allotted to Philip, he thereby declares that the larger part of it belonged to another; this other was Lyſanias, whom Luke mentions, of the poſterity of that Lyſanias who was poſſeſſed of the ſame country called *Abilene*, from the city Abila, and by others *Chalcidene*, from the city Chalcis, when the government of the eaſt was under Antonius, and this after Ptolemy, the ſon of Mennius, from which Lyſanias, this country, came to be commonly called the *Country of Lyſanias*; and as, after the death of the former Lyſanias, it was called the *tetrarchy of Zenodorus*, ſo, after the death of Zenodorus, or when the time for which he hired it was ended, when another Lyſanias, of the ſame name with the former, was poſſeſſed of the ſame country, it began to be called again the *tetrarchy of Lyſanias*." However, ſince Joſephus elſewhere, Antiq. B. XX. ch. vii. § 1. Vol. II. clearly diſtinguiſhes Abilene from Chalcidine, Grotius muſt be here ſo far miſtaken.

up by a Roman freed-man in the city Sidon, ingrafted himself into the kindred of Herod, by the resemblance of his countenance, which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incitement to him to endeavour to obtain the government: So he took to him as an assistant, a man of his own country, (one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but on other accounts, an ill man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public, and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other,) and declared himself to be Alexander, and the son of Herod, but stolen away by one of those who were sent to slay him, who, in reality, slew other men in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him; and when he was come to Crete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe him [to be Alexander.] And when he had gotten much money which had been presented to him there, he passed over to Melos, where he got much more money than he had before, out of the belief they had that he was of the royal family, and their hopes that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors; so he made haste to Rome, and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate, as, upon his landing at Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that men were glad of his pretences, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath; insomuch that when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to divine providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets, and all the ornaments about him was such as kings are adorned withal; and this was at the expences of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought suitable to such as had been so unexpectedly preserved.

2. When this thing was told Cæsar, he did not believe it, because Herod was not easily to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freed man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves,

and bad him bring Alexander into his preſence: So he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the reſt of the multitude. Yet did not he decieve Cæſar; for although there were a reſemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not ſo exact as to impoſe on ſuch as were prudent in diſcerning; for this ſpurious Alexander had his hands rough by the labours he had been put to, and inſtead of that ſoftneſs of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reaſon, had a rugged body. When therefore, Cæſar ſaw how the maſter and the ſcholar agreed in this lying ſtory, and in a bold way of talking, he enquired about Ariſtobulus, and aſked what become of him, who (it ſeems) was ſtolen away together with him, and for what reaſon it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavour to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth alſo? And when he ſaid, That "he had been left in the iſle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the ſea, that, in caſe any accident ſhould come to himſelf, the poſterity of Mariamne might not utterly periſh, but that Ariſtobulus might ſurvive, and puniſh thoſe that laid ſuch treacherous deſigns againſt them." And when he perſevered in his affirmations, and the author of the impoſture agreed in ſupporting it, Cæſar took the young man by himſelf, and ſaid to him, "If thou wilt not impoſe upon me, thou ſhalt have this for thy reward, that thou ſhalt eſcape with thy life; tell me then who thou art! And who it was that had boldneſs enough to contrive ſuch a cheat as this? For this contrivance is too conſiderable a piece of villany to be undertaken by one of thy age." Accordingly, becauſe he had no other way to take, he told Cæſar the contrivance, and after what manner, and by whom it was laid together. So Cæſar, upon obſerving the ſpurious Alexander to be a ſtrong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promiſe to him, put him among thoſe that were to row among the mariners; but ſlew him that induced him to do what he had done; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them ſufficiently puniſhed, in having thrown away ſo much of their money upon this ſpurious Alexander. And ſuch was the ignominious concluſion of this bold contrivance about the ſpurious Alexander.

CHAP. XIII.

How Archelaus, upon a ſecond Accuſation, was baniſhed to Vienna.

§. 1. WHEN Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea, he accuſed Joazar, the ſon of Boëthus, of aſſiſting the ſeditious, and took away the high-

priesthood from him, and put Eleazer his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew of that water into the plain, to water those palm trees which he had there planted: He also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it *Archelais*. Moreover, he * transgressed the law of our fathers and married Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a thing detestable among the Jews, to marry the brother's wife; nor did this Eleazer abide long in the high-priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Cæsar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Cæsar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon Cæsar, when he heard it, was very angry and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bid him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to us; so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judea he found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Cæsar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come [to Rome,] Cæsar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna a city of Gaul to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

3. Now before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends, that "he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen." And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simon, a man of the sect of the Essens, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said that "the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labours denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted farther, a change of affairs; because that land which is ploughed by oxen cannot remain in its former state: And

* Spanheim reasonably observes here, that it was forbidden the Jews to marry their brother's wife, when she had children by her first husband, and that Zonoras [cites, or] interprets the clause before us accordingly.

that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus's government was over." And thus did this man expound the dream. Now on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Cæsar to call him away came hither also.

4. The like accident befel Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married while she was a virgin, to Alexander the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lydia, and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glaphyra; who during her marriage to him saw the following dream. She thought "she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained of her, and said, O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us, that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? and wast not thou married to me when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children between us? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bare to thee out of a desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and impudent manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, thy husband, and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast." When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days time she departed this life.

5. Now I did not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings, and otherwise also on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs I thought them fit to be set down; but if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another. that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Cæsar to take account of people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

BOOK XVIII.

Containing the interval of thirty-two years.

[From the Baniſhment of ARCHELAUS, *to the departure of the Jews from Babylon.]*

CHAP. I.

How Cyrenius was ſent by Cæſar to make a Taxation of Syria and Judea; and how Coponius was ſent to be Procurator of Judea; concerning Judas of Galilee, and concerning the ſects that were among the Jews.

§ 1. NOW Cyrenius, a Roman ſenator, and one who had gone through other magiſtracies, and had paſſed through them till he had been conſul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being ſent by Cæſar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their ſubſtance: Coponius alſo, a man of the queſtrian order, was ſent together with him, to have the ſupreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himſelf into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their ſubſtance, and to diſpoſe of Archelaus's money: But the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinouſly, yet did they leave off any farther oppoſition to it, by the perſuaſion of Joazar, who was the ſon of Boethus, and high-prieſt; ſo they being over perſuaded by Joazar's words, gave an account of their eſtates, without any diſpute about it. Yet was there one Judas,* a Gaulonite, of a city whoſe name was *Ga-*

* Since St. Luke once, Acts v. 37. and Joſephus four ſeveral times, once here, § 6. and B. XX. ch v. § 2. Vol. II. Of the War, B. II. ch. viii. § 1. and ch. xvii. § 8. Vol. III. calls this Judas, who was the peſtilent author of that ſeditious doctrine and temper which brought the Jewiſh nation to utter deſtruction, a *Galilean*, but here, § 1. Joſephus calls him a *Gaulonite*, of the city of Gamala. It is a great queſtion where this Judas was born, whether in Galilee on the weſt ſide, or in Gaulonitis, on the eaſt ſide of the river Jordan; while, in the place juſt now cited out of the Antiquities, B. *XX.* ch. v. § 2. Vol. II. he is not only called a Galilean, but it is added to his ſtory, *as I have ſignified in the books that go before theſe*, as if he had ſtill called him a *Galilean* in thoſe Antiquities before, as well as in that particular place, as Dean Aldrich obſerves, On the War, B. II ch. viii. ſect. 1. Vol. III. Nor can one well imagine why he ſhould here call him a *Gaulonite*, when in the 6th ſection following here, as well as twice Of the War, he ſtill calls him a *Galilean*. As for the city of Gamala, whence this Judas was derived, it determines nothing, ſince there were two of that name, the one in Gaulonitis, the other in Galilee. See Reland on the city or town of that name.

mala, who taking with him Saddouk*, a Phariſee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who both ſaid, that this taxation was no better than an introduction to ſlavery, and exhorted the nation to aſſert their liberty; as if they could procure them happineſs and ſecurity for what they poſſeſſed, and an aſſured enjoyment of a ſtill greater good, which was that of the honour and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They alſo ſaid, that God would not otherwiſe be aſſiſting to them, than upon their joining with one another in ſuch counſels as might be ſucceſsful, and for their own advantage; and this eſpecially, if they would ſet about great exploits, and not grow weary in executing the ſame; ſo men received what they ſaid with pleaſure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All ſorts of misfortunes alſo ſprang from theſe men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came upon us after another, and we loſt our friends which uſed to alleviate our pains; there were alſo very great robberies and murders of our principal men. This was done in pretence indeed for the public welfare, but in reality from the hopes of gain to themſelves; whence aroſe ſeditions, and from them murders of men, which ſometimes fell on thoſe of their own people, (by the madneſs of theſe men towards one another, while their deſire was that none of the adverſe party might be left) and ſometimes on their enemies; a famine alſo coming upon us reduced us to the laſt degree of deſpair, as did alſo the taking and demoliſhing of cities; nay, the ſedition at laſt increaſed ſo high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies fire. Such were the conſequences of this, that the cuſtoms of our fathers were altered, and ſuch a change was made, as added a mighty weight toward bringing all to deſtruction, which theſe men occaſioned by their thus conſpiring together, for Judas and Sadducus†, who excited a fourth Philoſophic ſect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at preſent, and laid the foundations of our future miſeries by this ſyſtem of philoſophy, which we were before unacquainted withal; concerning which, I will diſcourſe a little, and this the rather, becauſe the infection which ſpread thence among the younger ſort, who were zealous for it brought the public to deſtruction.

2. The Jews had for a great while had three ſects of philo-

* It ſeems not very improbable to me, that this Sadduc, the Phariſee, was the very ſame man of whom the Rabbins ſpeak, as the unhappy but undeſigning occaſion of the impiety or infidelity of the Sadducees; nor perhaps had the men this name of Sadducees till this very time, though they were a diſtinct ſect long before. See the note on B. XIII. ch. x. ſect 5. Vol II. and Dean Prideaux, as there quoted; nor do we, that I know of, find the leaſt footſteps of ſuch impiety or infidelity of theſe Sadducees before this time, the Recognitions aſſuring us, that they began about the days of John the Baptiſt, B. I ch. liv. Vol. I.

† See Note above

ſophy peculiar to themſelves, the ſect of the Eſſens, and the ſect of the Sadducees, and the third ſort of opinions, was that of thoſe called Phariſees; of which ſects, although I have already ſpoken in the ſecond book of the Jewiſh war, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

3. Now for the Phariſees they live meanly, and deſpiſe delicacies in diet; and they follow the contract of reaſon; and what that preſcribes to them as good for them they do; and they think they ought earneſtly to ſtrive to obſerve reaſon's dictates for practice. They alſo pay a reſpect to ſuch as are in years; nor are they ſo bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced; and, when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; ſince their notion is, that it hath pleaſed God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but ſo that the will of man can act virtuouſly or viciouſly. They alſo believe, that ſouls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or puniſhments, according as they have lived virtuouſly or viciouſly in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlaſting priſon, but that the former ſhall have power to revive and live again, on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to perſuade the body of the people: And whatſoever they do about divine worſhip prayers, and ſacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; inſomuch that the cities gave great atteſtations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their diſcourſes alſo.

4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this, That ſouls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the obſervation of any thing beſides what the law enjoins them; for they think it an inſtance of virtue to diſpute with thoſe teachers of philoſophy whom they frequent; but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by thoſe ſtill of the greateſt dignity. But they are able to do almoſt nothing of themſelves; for when they become magiſtrates, as they are unwillingly and by force ſometimes obliged to be, they addict themſelves to the notions of the Phariſees, becauſe the multitude would not otherwiſe bear them.

5. The doctrine of the Eſſens is this, That all things are beſt aſcribed to God. They teach the immortality of ſouls, and eſteem that the rewards of righteouſneſs are to be earneſtly ſtriven for; and when they ſend * what they have dedicated

* It ſeems by what Joſephus ſays here, and Philo himſelf elſewhere, Op. p. 676, that theſe Eſſens did not uſe to go to the Jewiſh feſtivals at Jeruſalem, or to offer ſacrifices there, which may be one great occaſion why they are never mentioned in the ordinary books of the New Teſtament; though in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions they are mentioned, as thoſe that *obſerved the cuſtoms of their foreſathers*, and that without any ſuch ill character laid upon them, as is there laid upon the other ſects among that people.

to God into the temple, they do not offer ſacrifices, becauſe they have more pure luſtrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple but offer their ſacrifices themſelves; yet is their courſe of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themſelves to huſbandry. It alſo deſerves our admiration how much they exceed all other men that addict themſelves to virtue, and this in righteouſneſs; and indeed to ſuch a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor Barbarians, no not for a little time, ſo hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonſtrated by that inſtitution of theirs, which will not ſuffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; ſo that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thouſand men that live in this way; and neither marry wives, nor are deſirous to keep ſervants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjuſt, and the former gives the handle to domeſtic quarrels; but as they live by themſelves, they miniſter one to another. They alſo appoint certain ſtewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; ſuch as are good men and prieſts, who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Eſſens in their way of living, but do the moſt reſemble thoſe Dacæ, who are called *Poliſtæ**, [dwellers in cities].

6. But of the fourth ſect of Jewiſh philoſophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. Theſe men agree in all other things with the Phariſaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and ſay, that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They alſo do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any ſuch fear make them call any man lord. And ſince this immoveable reſolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I ſhall ſpeak no farther about that matter; nor am I afraid that any thing I have ſaid of them ſhould be diſbelieved but rather fear, that what I have ſaid is beneath the reſolution they ſhew when they undergo pain. And it was in Geſſius Florus's time that the nation began to go mad with this diſtemper, who was our procurator, and who occaſioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuſe of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And theſe are the ſects of Jewiſh philoſophy.

* Who theſe Πολιτικαὶ in Joſephus, or Κτίσται in Strabo, among the Pythagorick Dacæ were, it is not easy to determine. Scaliger offers no improbable conjecture, that ſome of theſe Dacæ lived alone, like monks, in tents or caves, but that others of them lived together in *built cities*, and thence were called by ſuch names as implied the ſame.

CHAP. II.

How Herod and Philip built ſeveral Cities in honour of Cæſar. Concerning the ſucceſſion of Prieſts and Procurators; as alſo what befel Phraates and the Parthians.

§ 1. WHEN Cyrenius had now diſpoſed of Archelaus's money, and when the taxings were come to a concluſion, which were made in the thirty-ſeventh of Cæſar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joazar of the highprieſt-hood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the ſon of Seth, to be high prieſt; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and ſettled the affairs thereof. Herod alſo built a wall about Sepphoris (which is the ſecurity of all Galilee), and made it the metropolis of the country. He alſo built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itſelf a city alſo, and called it *Julias*, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip alſo had built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it *Ceſarea*. He alſo advanced the village Bethſaida, ſituate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of *Julias*, the ſame name with Cæſar's daughter.

2. As Coponius, who we told you was ſent along with Cyrenius, was exerciſing his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feaſt of unlevened bread, which we call the *Paſſover*, it was cuſtomary for the prieſts to open the temple gates juſt after midnight. When therefore thoſe gates were firſt opened, ſome of the Samaritans came privately into Jeruſalem, and threw about dead mens bodies in the cloiſters; on which account the Jews afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not uſed to do at ſuch feſtivals; and on other accounts alſo they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his ſucceſſor in that government; under whom Salome, the ſiſter of king Herod, died, and left to Julia [Cæſar's wife], Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Phaſaelis in the plain, and Archelais, where is a great plantation of palm trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annius Rufus, under whom died Cæſar, the ſecond emperor of the Romans, the duration of whoſe reign was fifty-ſeven years, beſides ſix months and two days, (of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his life was ſeventy-ſeven years); upon whoſe death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's ſon, ſucceeded. He was now the third emperor; and he ſent Valerius Gratus to be procu-

rator of Judea, and to ſucceed Annius Rufus. This man deprived Annus of the high-prieſthood, and appointed Iſmael, the ſon of Phabi, to be high-prieſt. He alſo deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the ſon of Ananus who had been high prieſt before, to be high prieſt; which office, when he had held for a year, Gratus deprived him of it, and gave the high-prieſthood to Simon, the ſon of Camithus; and, when he had poſſeſſed that dignity no longer than a year, Joſeph Caiaphas was made his ſucceſſor. When Gratus had done thoſe things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his ſucceſſor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the ſame name with him, and called it *Tiberias*. He built it in the beſt part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths, at a little diſtance from it, in a village named *Emmaus*. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans alſo; and many were neceſſitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; ſome of them were perſons of condition. He alſo admitted poor people, that thoſe ſuch as were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, ſome of them were not quite freemen; and theſe he was a benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forſake the city, by building them very good houſes at his own expences, and by giving them land alſo; for he was ſenſible, that to make this place an habitation was to tranſgreſs the Jewiſh ancient laws, becauſe many ſepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias *; whereas our laws pronounce, that ſuch inhabitants are unclean for ſeven days †.

4. About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his ſon, upon the occaſion following. When Phraates had had legitimate ſons of his own, he had alſo an Italian maid ſervant, whoſe name was *Thermuſa*, who had been formerly ſent to him by Julius Cæſar, among other preſents. He firſt made her his concubine; but he being a great admirer of her beauty, in proceſs of time having a ſon by her, whoſe name was *Phraataces*, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great reſpect for her. Now, ſhe was able to perſuade him to do any thing the ſhe ſaid, and was earneſt in procuring the government of Parthia for her ſon;

* We may here take notice, as well as in the parallel parts of the books Of the War, B. II. ch. ix. ſect. 1. Vol. III. that after the death of Herod the Great, and the ſucceſſion of Archelaus, Joſephus is very brief in his accounts of Judea, till near his own time. I ſuppoſe the reaſon is, that after the large hiſtory of Nicolaus of Damaſcus, including the life of Herod, and probably the ſucceſſion and firſt actions of his ſons, he had but few good hiſtories of thoſe times before him.

† Numb. xix. 11—14.

but ſtill ſhe ſaw that her endeavours would not ſucceed, unleſs ſhe could contrive how to remove Phraates's ligitimate ſons [out of the kingdom]; ſo ſhe perſuaded him to ſend thoſe his ſons as pledges of his fidelity, to Rome; and they were ſent to Rome accordingly, becauſe it was not eaſy for him to contradict her commands. Now, while Phraataces was alone brought up in order to ſucceed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation [as his ſucceſſor]; he therefore formed a treacherous deſign againſt his father by his mother's aſſiſtance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal converſation alſo. So he was hated for both theſe vices, while his ſubjects eſteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide; and he was by them in a ſedition expelled out of the country, before he grew too great and died. But as the beſt ſort of Parthians agreed together that it was impoſſible they ſhould be governed without a king, while alſo it was their conſtant practice to chooſe one of the family of Arſaces, [nor did their law allow of any others; and they thought this kingdom had been ſufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her iſſue], they ſent ambaſſadors and called Orodes [to take the crown]; for the multitude would not otherwiſe have borne them; and though he were accuſed of very great cruelty, and was of an intractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet ſtill he was one of the family of Arſaces. However, they made a conſpiracy againſt him, and ſlew him and that, as ſome ſay, at a feſtival, and among their ſacrifices; (for it is the univerſal cuſtom there to carry their ſwords with them); but as the more general report is, they ſlew him when they had drawn him out a-hunting. So they ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, and deſired they would ſend one of thoſe that were there as pledges, to be their king. Accordingly Vonones was preferred before the reſt, and ſent to them; (for he ſeemed capable of ſuch great fortune, which two of the greateſt kingdoms under the ſun now offered him, his own, and a foreign one). However the barbarians ſoon changed their minds, they being naturally of a mutable diſpoſition, upon the ſuppoſal, that this man was not worthy to be their governor; for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a ſlave, (for ſo they called thoſe that had been hoſtages), nor could they bear the ignominy of that name; and this was the more intolerable, becauſe then the Parthians muſt have ſuch a king ſet over them, not by right of war, but in time of peace. So they preſently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, he being alſo of the race of Arſaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him; and at firſt the multitude of the Parthians ſtood on his ſide, and he put his army in array, but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little

after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones, and beat him; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia [upon Tigris]. So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory by reason of the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon with a great number of his people; and so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia; and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that purpose]. But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded, and because he had no way to take to regain any other kingdom, (for the people of authority among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus), he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene; whereupon the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors to [Rome]; for the men of power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a [Roman] province; as were the multitude desirous to be under king's, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the east, fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life; for when he had been in the east, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by the poison which Piso gave him, as hath been related elsewhere*.

CHAP. III.

A Sedition of the Jews against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, and what befel Paulina and the Jews at Rome.

§ 1. BUT now Pilate the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter-quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there;

* This citation is now wanting.

which was done without the knowledge of the people, becauſe it was done in the night time; but as ſoon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Ceſarea, and interceded with Pilate many days, that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requeſts, becauſe this would tend to the injury of Cæſar, while yet they perſevered in their requeſt, on the ſixth day he ordered his ſoldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and ſat upon his judgment ſeat; which ſeat was ſo prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppreſs them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a ſignal to the ſoldiers to encompaſs them round, and threatened that their puniſhment ſhould be no leſs than immediate death, unleſs they would leave off diſturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themſelves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and ſaid they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wiſdom of their laws ſhould be tranſgreſſed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm reſolution to keep their laws inviolable, and preſently commanded the images to be carried back from Jeruſalem to Ceſarea.

2. But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jeruſalem, and did it with the ſacred money, and derived the origin of the ſtream from the diſtance of two hundred furlongs. However the Jews * were not pleaſed with what had been done about this water; and many ten thouſands of the people got together, and made a clamour againſt him, and inſiſted that he ſhould leave off that deſign. Some of them alſo uſed reproaches, and abuſed the man, as crowds of ſuch people uſually do. So he habited a great number of his ſoldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and ſent them to a place where they might ſurround them. So he bid the Jews himſelf go away; but they boldly caſting reproaches upon him, he gave the ſoldiers that ſignal which had

* Theſe Jews, as they are here called, whoſe blood Pilate ſhed on this occaſion may very well be thoſe very Galilean Jews *whoſe blood Pilate had mingled with their ſacrifices*; Luke xiii. 1, 2.; theſe tumults being uſually excited at ſome of the Jews great feſtivals, when they ſlew abundance of ſacrifices, and the Galileans being commonly much more buſy in ſuch tumults than thoſe of Judea and Jeruſalem, as we learn from the hiſtory of Archelaus, Antiq. B. XVII. ch. ix. ſect. 3. and ch. x. ſect. 2, 9. Vol. II.; though indeed Joſephus's preſent copies ſay not one word of *thoſe eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and ſlew them*, which the 4th verſe of the ſame xiiith chapter of St Luke informs us of. But ſince our goſpel teaches us, Luke xxiii. 6, 7. that, *when Pilate heard of Galilee, he aſked whether Jeſus were a Galilean? And as ſoon as he knew that he belonged to Herod's juriſdiction, he ſent him to Herod.* And, ver. 12. *The ſame day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for, before they had been at enmity between themſelves.* Take the very probable key of this matter in the words of the learned Noldius de Herod, No. 249. "The cauſe of the enmity between Herod and Pilate (ſays he), ſeems to have been this, that Pilate had intermeddled with the tetrarch's juriſdiction, and had ſlain ſome of his Galilean ſubjects; Luke xiii. 1.; and, as he was willing to correct that error, he ſent Chriſt to Herod at this time."

been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least; and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.

3. Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, * those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day; † as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

4. About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina; one who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation: She was also very rich; and although she were of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mundus fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmæ for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to famish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now Mundus had a freed woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skilful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, (for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others,) and came to him,

* A. D. 33. April 3. † April 5.

and encouraged him by her diſcourſe, and made him to hope by ſome promiſes ſhe gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully hearkened to her entreaty, ſhe ſaid ſhe wanted no more than fifty thouſand drachmæ for the entrapping of the woman. So when ſhe had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as ſhe required, ſhe did not take the ſame methods as had been taken before, becauſe ſhe perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money, but as ſhe knew that ſhe was much given to the worſhip of the goddeſs Iſis, ſhe deviſed the following ſtratagem: She went to ſome of Iſis's prieſts, and upon the ſtrongeſt aſſurances [of concealment], ſhe perſuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of 25,000 drachmæ in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect; and told them the paſſion of the young man, and perſuaded them to uſe all means poſſible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn into promiſe ſo to do, by that large ſum of gold they were to have. Accordingly the oldeſt of them went immediately to Paulina, and upon his admittance, he deſired to ſpeak with her by herſelf. When that was granted him, he told her, that "he was ſent by the god Anubis who was fallen in love with her, and enjoined her to come to him." Upon this ſhe took the meſſage very kindly, and valued herſelf greatly upon this condeſcenſion of Anubis, and told her huſband that ſhe had a meſſage ſent her, and was to ſup and to lie with Anubis; ſo he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully ſatisfied with the chaſtity of his wife. Accordingly ſhe went to the temple, and after ſhe had ſupped there, and it was the hour to go to ſleep, the prieſt ſhut the doors of the temple, when in the holy part of it, the lights were alſo put out. Then did Mundus leap out, (for he was hidden therein), and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at his ſervice all the night long, as ſuppoſing he was the god; and when he was gone away, which was before thoſe prieſts who knew nothing of this ſtratagem were ſtirring, Paulina came early to her huſband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends alſo ſhe declared how great a value ſhe put upon this favour, who partly diſbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretence for not believing it, when they conſidered the modeſty and the dignity of the perſon. But now on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and ſaid, "Nay, Paulina, thou haſt ſaved me two hundred thouſand drachmæ, which ſum thou mighteſt have added to thy own family; yet haſt thou not failed to be at my ſervice in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou haſt laid upon Mundus, I value not the buſineſs of names; but I rejoice in the pleaſure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myſelf the name of Anubis." When he had ſaid this, he went his way. But now ſhe began

to come to the ſenſe of the groſſneſs of what ſhe had done, and rent her garments, and told her huſband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to aſſiſt her in this caſe. So he diſcovered the fact to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius enquired into the matter thoroughly, by examining the prieſts about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occaſion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was ſo injurious to the woman. He alſo demoliſhed the temple of Iſis, and gave order that her ſtatue ſhould be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only baniſhed Mundus, but did no more to him, becauſe he ſuppoſed that what crime he had committed was done out of the paſſion of love. And theſe were the circumſtances which concerned the temple of Iſis, and the injuries occaſioned by her prieſts. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accuſation laid againſt him for tranſgreſſing their laws, and by the fear he was under of puniſhment for the ſame; but in all reſpects a wicked man. He then living at Rome, profeſſed to inſtruct men in the wiſdom of the laws of Moſes He procured alſo three other men, entirely of the ſame character with himſelf to be his partners. Theſe men perſuaded Fulvia a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewiſh religion, to ſend purple and gold to the temple at Jeruſalem, and, when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uſes, and ſpent the money themſelves; on which account it was that they at firſt required it of her. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturninus, the huſband of Fulvia, who deſired inquiry might be made about it, ordered all the Jews to be baniſhed out of Rome; at which time the conſuls liſted 4000 men out of them, and ſent them to the iſland Sardinia; but puniſhed a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become ſoldiers on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers*. Thus were theſe Jews baniſhed out of the city by the wickedneſs of four men.

* Of the baniſhment of theſe 4000 Jews into Sardinia by Tiberius, ſee Suetonius in Tiber. ſect. 36. But as for Mr. Reland's note here, which ſuppoſes, that Jews could not, conſiſtently with their laws, be ſoldiers, it is contradicted by one branch of the hiſtory before us, and contrary to innumerable inſtances of their fighting, and proving excellent ſoldiers in war; and indeed many of the beſt of them, and even under heathen kings themſelves, did ſo, thoſe I mean who allowed them their reſt on the ſabbath day, and other ſolemn feſtivals, and let them live according to their own laws, as Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies of Egypt did. It is true, they could not always obtain thoſe privileges, and then they got excuſed as well as they could, or ſometimes abſolutely refuſed to fight, which ſeems to have been the caſe here, as to the major part of the Jews now baniſhed, but nothing more See ſeveral of the Roman decrees in their favour as to ſuch matters, B. XIV. ch. x. vol. II.

CHAP. IV.

How the Samaritans made a Tumult, and Pilate deſtroyed many of them: How Pilate was accuſed, and what things were done by Vitellius relating to the Jews and the Parthians.

§ 1. BUT the nation of the Samaritans did not eſcape without tumults. The man who excited them to it, was one who thought lying a thing of little conſequence, and who contrived every thing ſo that the multitude might be pleaſed; ſo he bid them to get together upon mount Gerizzim, which is by them looked upon as the moſt holy of all mountains, and aſſured them, that when they were come thither, he would ſhew them thoſe ſacred veſſels which were laid under that place, becauſe Moſes * put them there. So they came thither armed, and thought the diſcourſe of the man probable; and as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the reſt together to them, and deſired to go up the mountain in a great multitude together; but Pilate prevented their going up by ſeizing upon the roads with a great band of horſemen and footmen, who fell upon thoſe that were gotten together in the village; and when it came to an action, ſome of them they ſlew, and others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of which, and alſo the moſt potent of thoſe that fled away, Pilate ordered to be ſlain.

2. But when this tumult was appeaſed, the Samaritan ſenate ſent an embaſſy to Vitellius, a man that had been conſul, and who was now preſident of Syria, and accuſed Pilate of the murder of thoſe that were killed; for that they did not go to Tirabatha in order to revolt from the Romans, but to eſcape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius ſent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to anſwer before the emperor to the accuſations of the Jews. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, made haſte to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durſt not contradict; but before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead.

3. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jeruſalem; it was at the time of that feſtival which is called the

* Since Moſes never came himſelf beyond Jordan, nor particularly to mount Girizzim, and ſince theſe Samaritans have a tradition among them, related here by Dr. Hudſon, from Reland, who was very ſkilful in Jewiſh and Samaritan learning, that in the days of Uzzi or Ozzi the high-prieſt, 1 Chron. vi. 6. the ark and other ſacred veſſels were, by God's command, laid up or hidden in mount Gerizzim, it is highly probable that this was the foolish foundation the preſent Samaritans went upon, in the ſedition here deſcribed, and that we ſhould read here, Ὄρους inſtead of Μωσέως, in the text of Joſephus.

Paſſover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and releaſed the inhabitants of Jeruſalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were brought and ſold, and gave them leave to have the care of the high-prieſt's veſtments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the cuſtody of the prieſts in the temple, which power they uſed to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel ſo called, and that on the occaſion following: There was one of the [high] prieſts, named Hyrcanus, and as there were many of that name, he was the firſt of them; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had ſo done, he generally dwelt in it, and had theſe veſtments with him; becauſe it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there repoſited when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments; the ſame things were continued to be done by his ſons, and by their ſons after them. But when Herod came to be king he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently ſituated, in a magnificent manner; and becauſe he was a friend to Antonius, he called it by the name of *Antonia*. And as he found theſe veſtments lying there, he retained them in the ſame place, as believing, that while he had them in his cuſtody, the people would make no innovations againſt him. The like to what Herod did was done by his ſon Archelaus, who was made king after him; after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took poſſeſſion of theſe veſtments of the high-prieſt, and had them repoſited in a ſtone-chamber, under the ſeal of the prieſts, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day; and * ſeven days before a feſtival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high-prieſt, having purified them, and made uſe of them, laid them up again in the ſame chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feaſt was over. This was the practice at the three yearly feſtivals, and on the faſt day; but Vitellius put theſe garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himſelf to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be uſed; and this he did as an act of kindneſs, to oblige the nation to him. Beſides which, he alſo deprived Joſeph, who was alſo called *Caiaphas*, of the high-prieſthood, and appointed Jonathan, the ſon of Ananus, the former high-prieſt, to ſucceed him. After which, he took his journey back to Antioch.

* This mention of the high-prieſt's ſacred garments received ſeven days before a feſtival, and purified in thoſe days againſt a feſtival, as having been polluted, by being in the cuſtody of heathens, in Joſephus, agrees well with the traditions of the Talmudiſts, as Reland here obſerves. Nor is there any queſtion but the three feaſts here mentioned, were the Paſſover, Pentecoſt, and feaſt of Tabernacles; and the Faſt, ſo called by way of diſtinction, as Acts xxvii. 9. was the great day of expiation.

4. Moreover, Tiberius ſent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendſhip with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for while he was his enemy he terrified him, becauſe he had taken Armenia away from him, leſt he ſhould proceed farther, and told him he ſhould no otherwiſe truſt him than upon his giving him hoſtages, and eſpecially his ſon Artabanus. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great preſents of money, he perſuaded both the king of Iberia, and the king of Albania, to make no delay, but to fight againſt Artabanus; and although they would not do it themſelves, yet did they give the Scythians a paſſage through their country, and opened the Caſpian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the principal of their men were ſlain and all theſe things were in diſorder among them: The king's ſon, alſo himſelf fell in theſe wars, together with many ten thouſands of his army. Vitellius had alſo ſent ſuch great ſums of money to Artabanus's father's kinſmen and friends, that he had almoſt procured him to be ſlain by the means of thoſe bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid againſt him was not to be avoided, becauſe it was laid by the principal men, and thoſe a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect; when he had eſtimated the number of thoſe that were truly faithful to him, as alſo of thoſe who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindneſs they profeſſed to him, and were likely upon trial to go over to his enemies, he made his eſcape to the upper provinces, where he afterward raiſed a great army out of the Dabæ and Sacæ, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

5. When Tiberius had heard of theſe things, he deſired to have a league of friendſhip made between him and Artabanus; and when, upon this invitation, he received the propoſal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midſt of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midſt of the paſſage, and made them a feaſt there. Artabanus alſo, not long afterward, ſent his ſon Darius, as an hoſtage, with many preſents, among which there was a man ſeven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was *Eleazar*, who for his tallneſs was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [the tetrarch] being deſirous to give Cæſar the firſt information that they had obtained hoſtages, ſent poſts with letters, wherein he had accurately deſcribed all the particulars, and had left nothing for the conſular Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius's letters were ſent, and Cæſar

had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, becauſe Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and ſuppoſing that he had been thereby a greater ſufferer than he really was, he kept up a ſecret anger upon this occaſion, till he could be revenged on him, which he was after Caius had taken the government.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year * of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans alſo, thirty-ſeven years. He had ſhewed himſelf a perſon of moderation and quietneſs in the conduct of his life and government; he conſtantly lived in that country which was ſubject to him †; he uſed to make his progreſs with a few choſen friends; his tribunal alſo, on which he ſat in judgment, followed him in his progreſs; and when any one met him who wanted his aſſiſtance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal ſet down immediately, whereſoever he happened to be, and ſat down upon it, and heard his complaint: He there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be puniſhed, and abſolved thoſe that had been accuſed unjuſtly. He died at Julias; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himſelf beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberius took, for he left no ſons behind him, and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which aroſe from it ſhould be collected, and laid up in his tetrarchy.

CHAP. V.

Herod the Tetrarch makes War with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him; as alſo concerning the Death of John the Baptiſt: How Vitellius went up to Jeruſalem; together with ſome account of Agrippa, and of the poſterity of Herod the Great.

§ 1. ABOUT this time Aretas, the king of Arabia Petrea, and Herod, had a quarrel on the account following: Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while, but when he was once at

* This calculation from all Joſephus's Greek copies, is exactly right; for ſince Herod died about September, in the 4th year before the Chriſtian æra, and Tiberius began, as is well known, Aug. 19. A. D. 14. it is evident that the 37th year of Philip, reckoned from his father's death, was the 20th of Tiberius, or near the end of A. D 33. (the very year of our Saviour's death alſo,) or however in the beginning of the next year A. D. 34. This Philip the tetrarch ſeems to have been the beſt of all the poſterity of Herod, for his love of peace, and his love of juſtice.

† An excellent example this.

Rome, he lodged with Herod*, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother; for this Herod was the son of the high-priest Simon's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great; this man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them, which address when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: One article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, his wife having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing; now she had sent a good while before to Macherus, which was subject to her father, and so all things necessary for her journey, were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and by that mean she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively, and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gemalitis. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and when they had joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Herod's army. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius, to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

2. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of

* This Herod seems to have had the additional name of *Philip*, as Antipas was named *Herod-Antipas*, and as Antipas and Antipater seem to be in a manner the very same name, yet were the names of two sons of Herod the Great; so might Philip the tetrarch and this Herod-Philip be two different sons of the same father, all which Grotius observes on Matt. xiv. 3. Nor was it, as I agree with Grotius and others of the learned, Philip the tetrarch, but this Herod-Philip, whose wife Herod the tetrarch had married, and that in her first husband's lifetime, and when her first husband had issue by her; for which adulterous and incestuous marriage, John the Baptist justly reproved Herod the tetrarch, and for which reproof Salome, the daughter of Herodias, by her first husband Herod-Philip, who was still alive, or cashioned him, to be unjustly beheaded.

Herod's army came from God, and that very juſtly, as a puniſhment of what he did againſt John, that was called the Baptiſt, for Herod ſlew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exerciſe virtue, both as to righteouſneſs towards one another, and piety towards God, and ſo to come to baptiſm; for that the waſhing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made uſe of it, not in order to the putting [or the remiſſion] of ſome ſins [only,] but for the purification of the body; ſuppoſing ſtill that the ſoul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteouſneſs. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved [or pleaſed] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared leſt the great influence John had over the people, might put it into his power and inclination to raiſe rebellion (for they ſeemed to do any thing he ſhould adviſe,) thought it beſt. by putting him to death, to prevent any miſchief he might cauſe, and not bring himſelf into difficulties, by ſparing a man who might make him repent of it when it ſhould be too late. Accordingly he was ſent a priſoner, out of Herod's ſuſpicious temper, to Macherus, the caſtle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the deſtruction of this army was ſent as a puniſhment by Herod, and a mark of God's diſpleaſure to him.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men; he alſo took with him all thoſe of light armature, and of the horſemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of thoſe kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haſte for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very buſily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and deſired that he would not thus march through their land; for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook thoſe images which were brought into it, of which there were a great many in their enſigns; ſo he was perſuaded by what they ſaid, and changed that reſolution of his, which he had before taken in this matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himſelf, with Herod the tetrarch, and his friends went up to Jeruſalem to offer ſacrifice to God, an ancient feſtival of the Jews being then juſt approaching; and when he had been there, and been honourably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a ſtay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high prieſthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when on the fourth day letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he alſo recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter quarters there, ſince, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was alſo reported, that when

Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said upon his conſulting the diviners, that it was impoſſible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's deſire, in order to be ſubſervient to his will, or elſe he againſt whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa the ſon of Ariſtobulus, went up to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of ſome affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted ſo to do. I have now a mind to deſcribe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly becauſe it is ſuitable to this hiſtory, to ſpeak of that matter, and partly becauſe this thing is a demonſtration of the interpoſition of providence, how a multitude of children is of no advantage, no more than any other ſtrength that mankind ſet their hearts upon, beſides thoſe acts of piety which are done towards God: For it happened, that, within the revolution of an hundred years, the poſterity of Herod, which were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly deſtroyed*. One may well apply this for the inſtruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they were; it will alſo ſhew us the hiſtory of Agrippa, who, as he was a perſon moſt worthy of admiration, ſo was he from a private man, beyond all the expectation of thoſe that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have ſaid ſomething of them formerly, but I ſhall now alſo ſpeak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne the [grand] daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salampſio, who was married to Phaſaelus her firſt couſin, who was himſelf the ſon of Phaſaelus, Herod's brother, her father making the match; the other was Cypros who was herſelf married alſo to her firſt couſin Antipater, the ſon of Salome, Herod's ſiſter. Phaſaelus had five children by Salampſio, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra, and Cypros, which laſt Agrippa, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, married, and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two ſons, and three daughters, which daughters was named Bernice, Mariamne, and Druſilla; but the names of the ſons were Agrippa, and Druſus, of which Druſus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father Agrippa was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Ariſtobulus, for theſe were alſo the ſons of the ſon of Herod the Great, by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Coſtobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's ſiſter. Ariſtobulus left theſe infants, when he was ſlain by his father, togeth-

* Whether this ſudden extinction of almoſt the entire lineage of Herod the Great, which was very numerous, as we are both here and in the next ſection, informed, was not in part as a puniſhment for the groſs inceſts they were frequently guilty of, in marrying their own nephews and nieces, we'l deſerves to be conſidered. See Levit. xviii. 6, 7. xxi. 10. And Noldius, De Herod, No. 269, 270.

er with his brother Alexander, as we have already related. But when they were arrived at years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa*; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape; and these hitherto were the children of the male-line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip,] the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, who had a daughter Salome; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas,] her husband's brother by the father's side; he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis. and as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus, and this was the posterity of Phasaelus, and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros, was Cypros, whom Alexis Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia; Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, & died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero: He had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, † the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cicilia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks; but for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befel Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

* There are coins still extant of this Emesa, as Spanheim informs us.

† Spanheim also informs us of a coin still extant of this Jotape, daughter of the king of Commagena.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Navigation of King Agrippa to Rome, to Tiberius Cæsar; and how, upon his being accused by his own freed-man, he was bound: How also he was set at liberty by Caius, after Tiberius's death, and was made king of the tetrarchy of Philip.

§ 1. A LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Cæsar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money, which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course: So she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husbands troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for

as once they were at a feaſt at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were caſt upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his neceſſary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been conſul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now preſident of Syria.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had alſo with him there Ariſtobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendſhip of Flaccus to them both, but ſtill they were honourably treated by him. However, Ariſtobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus: The occaſion of bringing on which eſtrangement was this: The Damaſcens were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cauſe between them, they underſtood that agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; ſo they deſired that he would be of their ſide, and for that favour promiſed him a great deal of money; ſo he was zealous in aſſiſting the Damaſcens as far as he was able. Now Ariſtobulus had gotten intelligence of this promiſe of money to him, and accuſed him to Flaccus of the ſame; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly ſo to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity, and came to Ptolemais; and becauſe he knew not where elſe to get a livelihood, he thought to ſail to Italy; but as he was reſtrained from ſo doing by want of money, he deſired Marſyas, who was his freed man, to find ſome method for procuring him ſo much as he wanted for that purpoſe, by borrowing ſuch a ſum of ſome perſon or other. So Marſyas deſired of Peter, who was the freed man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her teſtament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend ſo much upon Agrippa's own bond and ſecurity; but he accuſed Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain ſums of money, and ſo obliged Marſyas, when he made the bond of 20,000 Attic drachmæ, to accept of 2500 drachmæ * leſs than what he deſired, which the other allowed of, becauſe he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthedon, and took ſhipping, and was going to ſet ſail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamnia, ſent a band of ſoldiers to demand of him 300,000 drachmæ of ſilver, which were by him owing to Cæſar's treaſury while he was at Rome, and ſo forced him to ſtay. He then pretended that he would do as he bid him; but

* Spanheim obſerves, that we have here an inſtance of the Attic quantity of uſe money, which was the eighth part of the original ſum, or 12 and an half *per cent.* for ſuch is the proportion of 2500 to 20,000.

when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the Alabarch * to lend him 200,000 drachmæ; but he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it to Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue, so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay him the rest of that sum at Dicearchia [Puteoli]; and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.

4. And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who then lived at Capreæ, and told him, that he was come so far in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Capreæ; so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects, and withal told him, he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreæ; and when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day come a letter to Cæsar from Herennius Capito, to inform him, that Agrippa had borrowed 300,000 drachmæ, and not paid it at the time appointed; but, when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Cæsar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave order that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence, until he had paid that debt: Upon which he was no way daunted at Cæsar's anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterward Cæsar himself, to lend him those 300 000 drachmæ, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother, (for those two women were very familiar with one another), and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this, Tiberius Cæsar recommended to him his grandson †, and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook himself to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the good will they bare his father ‡. Now there was one Thallus, a freed man of Cæsar, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmæ, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her; and by sending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, became a person of great authority with him.

* The Governor of the Jews there.

† Tiberius junior.

‡ Germanicus.

5. Now, as the friendſhip which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, there happened ſome words to paſs between them, as they once were in a chariot together, concerning Tiberius; Agrippa praying [to God], (for they two ſat by themſelves), that "Tiberius might ſoon go off the ſtage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every reſpect more worthy of it." Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freed man, and drove his chariot, heard theſe words, and at that time ſaid nothing of them; but when Agrippa accuſed him of ſtealing ſome garments of his, (which was certainly true), he ran away from him; but when he was caught, and brought before Piſo, who was governor of the city, and the man was aſked, why he ran away? he replied, that he had ſomewhat to ſay to Cæſar, that tended to his ſecurity and preſervation: So Piſo bound him, and ſent him to Capreæ. But Tiberius, according to his uſual cuſtom, kept him ſtill in bonds, being a delayer of affairs, if there ever was any other king or tyrant that was ſo; for he did not admit ambaſſadors quickly, and no ſucceſſors were diſpatched away to governors or procurators of the provinces, that had been formerly ſent, unleſs they were dead; whence it was, that he was ſo negligent in hearing the cauſes of priſoners; inſomuch, that when he was aſked by his friends, what was the reaſon of his delay in ſuch caſes? He ſaid, That "he delayed to hear ambaſſadors, left, upon their quick diſmiſſion, other ambaſſadors ſhould be appointed, and return upon him; and ſo he ſhould bring trouble upon himſelf in their public reception and diſmiſſion: That he permitted thoſe governors, who had been ſent once to their governments [to ſtay there a great while], out of regard to the ſubjects that were under them; for that all governors are naturally diſpoſed to get as much as they can, and that thoſe who are not to fix there, but to ſtay a ſhort time, and that at an uncertainty, when they ſhall be turned out, do the more ſeverely hurry themſelves on to fleece the people; but that, if their government be long continued to them, they are at laſt ſatiated with the ſpoils, as having gotten a vaſt deal, and ſo become at length leſs ſharp in their pillaging; but that, if ſucceſſors are ſent quickly, the poor ſubjects, who are expoſed to them as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones, while they ſhall not have the ſame time allowed them, wherein their predeceſſors had filled themſelves, and ſo grew more unconcerned about getting more; and this becauſe they are removed before they have had time [for their oppreſſions]. He gave them an example to ſhew his meaning: A great number of flies came about the ſore places of a man that had been wounded; upon which one of the ſtanders-by pitied the man's misfortune, and, thinking he was not able to drive thoſe flies away himſelf, was going to drive them away for him; but he prayed him to let them alone: The other, by way of reply, aſked him the reaſon of ſuch a prepoſterous proceed-

ing, in preventing relief from his preſent miſery; to which he anſwered, If thou driveſt theſe flies away, thou wilt hurt me worſe; for, as theſe are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me ſo much as before, but are ſometimes more remiſs, while the freſh ones that come almoſt famiſhed, and find me quite tired down already, will be my deſtruction. For this cauſe, therefore, it is, that I am myſelf careful not to ſend ſuch new governors perpetually to thoſe my ſubjects, who are already ſufficiently harraſſed by many oppreſſions, as may, like theſe flies, farther diſtreſs them; and ſo, beſides their natural deſire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be ſuddenly deprived of that pleaſure which they take in it." And as a farther atteſtation to what I ſay of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itſelf; for, although he were emperor twenty-two years, he ſent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, Gratus, and his ſucceſſor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with reſpect to the Jews, and in another with reſpect to the reſt of his ſubjects. He farther informed them that even in the hearing of the cauſes of priſoners, he made ſuch delays, "becauſe immediate death to thoſe that muſt be condemned to die, would be an alleviation of their preſent miſeries, while thoſe wicked wretches have not deſerved any ſuch favour; but I do it, that, by being harraſſed with the preſent calamity, they may undergo greater miſery."

6. On this account it was, that Eutychus could not obtain an hearing, but was kept ſtill in priſon. However, ſome time afterward, Tiberius came from Capreæ to Tuſculanum, which, is about an hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then deſired of Antonia, that ſhe would procure an hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accuſed him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly eſteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, from the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Darius's wife, and for her eminent chaſtity *; for though ſhe were ſtill a young woman, ſhe contin-

* This high commendation of Antonia for marrying but once, given here, and ſuppoſed elſewhere, Antiq. B. XVII. ch. xiii. ſect. 4. Vol. II. and this notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt temptations, ſhews how honourable ſingle marriages were both among the Jews and Romans, in the days of Joſephus and of the apoſtles, and takes away much of that ſurpriſe which the modern Proteſtants have at thoſe laws of the apoſtles, where no widows, but thoſe who had been the wives of *one husband* only, are taken into the church liſt, and no biſhops, prieſts, or deacons, are allowed to marry more than once, without leaving off to officiate as clergymen any longer. See Luke ii. 36. 1 Tim. v. 11, 12. iii. 2. 12. Tit i 10. Conſtitut. Apoſt. B. II ſect 1, 2. B. VI. ſect. 17. Can B. XVII. Grot. in Luc. ii. 36. and Reſponſ. ad Conſult Caſſand. p. 44. and Cotelet. in Conſtitut. B VI. ſect. 17. And note, that Tertullian owns this law, againſt ſecond marriages of the clergy, had been once at leaſt executed in his time; and heavily complains elſewhere, that the breach thereof had not been always puniſhed by the Catholics, as it ought to have been. Jerom. ſpeaking of the ill reputation of marrying twice, ſays, That no ſuch perſon could be choſen into the clergy in his days; which Auguſtine teſtifies alſo;

ued her widowhood, and refuſed all other matches, although Auguſtus had enjoined her to be married to ſome body elſe: Yet did ſhe all along preſerve her reputation free from reproach. She had alſo been the greateſt benefactreſs to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid againſt him by Sejanus, a man who had been her huſband's friend, and who had the greateſt authority, becauſe he was general of the army, and when many members of the ſenate, and many of the freed-men joined with him, and the ſoldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldneſs been more wiſely conducted than Sejanus's malice; for, when ſhe had diſcovered his deſigns againſt Tiberius, ſhe wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the moſt faithful of her ſervants, and ſent him to Capreæ to Tiberius, who, when he underſtood it, ſlew Sejanus and his confederates; ſo that Tiberius, who had her in great eſteem before, now looked upon her with ſtill greater reſpect, and depended upon her in all things. So, when Tiberius was deſired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he anſwered, "If indeed Eutychus hath falſely accuſed Agrippa in what he hath ſaid of him, he hath had ſufficient puniſhment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accuſation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, leſt, out of deſire of puniſhing his freed-man, he do not rather bring a puniſhment upon himſelf." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was ſtill much more preſſing that the matter might be examined into; ſo Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg this favour, took the following opportunity: As Tiberius once lay at his eaſe upon his ſedan, and was carried about and Caius her grandſon and Agrippa were before him after dinner, ſhe walked by the ſedan, and deſired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antonia, the gods are my witneſſes, that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but becauſe I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had ſaid this, he ordered Marco, who ſucceeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius aſked him, what he had to ſay againſt a man who had given him his liberty? Upon which he ſaid, "O my lord, this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I ſat at their feet, and among other diſcourſes that paſſed, Agrippa ſaid to Caius, O that the day would once come, when this old fellow will die, and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! for then this Tiberius, his grand-ſon, would b no hindrance,

and for Epiphanius, rather earlier, he is clear and full to the ſame purpoſe, and ſays, that law obtained over the whole Catholic Church in his days; as the places in the forecited authors inform us.

but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy alſo." Now Tiberius took theſe to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, becauſe when he had commanded him to pay his reſpects to Tiberius, his grandſon, and the ſon of Darius, Agrippa had not paid him that reſpect, but had diſobeyed his commands, and transferred all their regard to Caius; he ſaid to Macro, "Bind this man." But Macro not diſtinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bid him bind, and not expecting that he would have any ſuch thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to aſk more diſtinctly what it was that he ſaid? But when Cæſar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa ſtanding: "For certain," ſaid he, "Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound:" And when he ſtill aſked, "Which of theſe is to be bound?" he ſaid, "Agrippa." Upon which Agrippa betook himſelf to make ſupplication for himſelf, putting him in mind of his ſon, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandſon] whom he had educated: But all to no purpoſe; for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was alſo very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal; ſo that he was very thirſty: He was alſo in a ſort of agony, and took this treatment of him heinouſly, as he therefore ſaw one of Caius's ſlaves, whoſe name was *Thaumaſtus*, carrying ſome water in a veſſel, he deſired that he would let him drink; ſo the ſervant gave him ſome water to drink, and he drank heartily, and ſaid, "O thou boy, this ſervice of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get clear of theſe my bonds, I will ſoon procure thee thy freedom of Caius, who has not been wanting to miniſter to me now I am in bonds, in the ſame manner as when I was in my former ſtate and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promiſed him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for, when afterward Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of Thaumaſtus, and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him the ſteward over his own eſtate; and, when he died, he left him to Agrippa his ſon and to Bernice his daughter, to miniſter to them in the ſame capacity. The man alſo grew old in that honourable poſt, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

7. Now Agrippa ſtood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others who were in bonds alſo; and as a certain bird ſat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned (the Romans call this bird *bubo*), [an owl], one of thoſe that were bound, a German by nation, ſaw him, and aſked a ſoldier what that man in purple was? And when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he

aſked leave of the ſoldier to whom he was bound *, to let him come nearer to him, to ſpeak with him; for that he had a mind to enquire of him about ſome things relating to his country; which liberty when he had obtained, and as he ſtood near him, he ſaid thus to him by an interpreter, That "this ſudden change of thy condition, O young man, is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adverſity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretel how thou wilt get clear of this miſery which thou art now under, and how divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore (and I appeal to my own country-gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded theſe bonds to us), that all I am going to ſay about thy concerns, ſhall neither be ſaid for favour nor bribery, nor out of an endeavour to make the cheerful without cauſe; for ſuch predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief at laſt, and in earneſt, more bitter than if the party had never heard of any ſuch thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own ſelf, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou ſhouldſt long continue in theſe bonds; but thou wilt ſoon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the higheſt dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all thoſe who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave that thine happineſs to the children whom thou ſhalt have. But do thou remember, when thou ſeeſt this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to paſs by that God who hath ſent this bird hither to be a ſign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjuſt to conceal from thee what I foreknew concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happineſs is coming upon thee, thou mayeſt not regard thy preſent misfortunes. But, when this happineſs ſhall actually befal thee, do not forget what miſery I am in myſelf, but endeavour to deliver me." So, when the German had ſaid this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortunes to heart; however, to ſpeak to Tiberius on his behalf, ſhe took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable as to any hope of ſucceſs: Yet did ſhe procure of Macro, that the ſoldiers that kept him ſhould be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was to diet with him, ſhould be of the ſame diſpoſition, and that he might have leave to bathe himſelf every day, and that his freed-men and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to eaſe him, might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him, and two of his freed-men,

* Dr. Hudſon here takes notice, out of Sebeca, Epiſtle V. that this was the cuſtom of Tiberius, to couple the priſoner and the ſoldier that guarded him together in the ſame chain.

Marſyras and Stechus, brought him ſuch ſorts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they alſo brought him garments, under pretence of ſelling them, and, when night came on, they laid them under him; and the ſoldiers aſſiſted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for ſix months time, and in this caſe were his affairs.

8. But for Tiberius, upon his return to Capreæ, he fell ſick. At firſt his diſtemper was but gentle; but, as that diſtemper increaſed upon him, he had ſmall or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he bid Euodus, who was that freed-man whom he moſt of all reſpected, to bring the children * to him; for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at preſent no ſons of his own alive; for Druſus, who was his only ſon, was dead; but Druſus's ſon Tiberius was ſtill living, whoſe additional name was *Gemellus*: There was alſo living Caius, the ſon of Germanicus, who was the ſon † of his brother [Druſus]. He was now grown up, and had had a liberal education, and was well improved by it, and was in eſteem and favour with the people on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the higheſt honour among the multitude, by the firmneſs of his virtuous behaviour, by the eaſineſs and agreeableneſs of his converſing with the multitude, and becauſe the dignity he was in, did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals; by which behaviour he was not only greatly eſteemed by the people and ſenate, but by every one of thoſe nations that were ſubject to the Romans; ſome of which were affected, when they came to him, with the gracefulneſs of their reception by him, and others were affected in the ſame manner by the report of the others that had been with him: And upon his death there was a lamentation made by all men; not ſuch an one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit ſorrow, but ſuch as was real; while every body grieved at his death, as if they had loſt one that was near to them. And truly ſuch had been his eaſy converſation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his ſon among all, and, among others, the ſoldiery were ſo peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themſelves, if he might but attain to the government.

9. But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to ſhew him a manifeſt ſignal, which of thoſe children ſhould come to the government; being very deſirous to leave it to his ſon's ſon, but ſtill depending upon what God

* Tiberius his own grandſon, and Caius his brother Druſus's grandſon.

† So I correct Joſephus's copy, which calls Germanicus his brother, who was his brother's ſon.

ſhould foreſhew concerning them, more than upon his own opinion and inclination; ſo he made this to be the omen, that the government ſhould be left to him who ſhould come to him firſt the next day. When he had thus reſolved within himſelf, he ſent to his grandſon's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as ſuppoſing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved oppoſite to his deſignation; for while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as ſoon as it was at all day, he bid Euodus to call in that child which ſhould be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but ſtaid waiting for his breakfeaſt; for Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended; ſo he ſaid to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As ſoon as Tiberius ſaw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of beſtowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to eſtabliſh what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of eſtabliſhing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandſon Tiberius was not only to loſe the Roman empire by his fatality, but his own ſafety alſo, becauſe his preſervation would now depend upon ſuch as would be more potent than himſelf, who would think it a thing not to be borne, that a kinſman ſhould live with them, and ſo his relation would not be able to protect him: But he would be feared and hated by him who had the ſupreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preſerve himſelf, and to be at the head of affairs alſo. Now Tiberius had been very much given to aſtrology *, and the calculation of nativities, and had ſpent his life in the eſteem of what predictions had proved true, more than thoſe whoſe profeſſion it was. Accordingly, when he once ſaw Galba coming in to him, he ſaid to his moſt intimate friends, that "there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire." So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all ſuch ſorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, becauſe he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great diſtreſs upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much grieved at the deſtruction of his ſon's ſon, which he foreſaw and complained of himſelf, that he ſhould have made uſe of ſuch a method of divination before hand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by this knowledge of futurity; whereas he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune of ſuch as were deareſt to him, and muſt

* This is a known thing among the Roman hiſtorians and poets, that Tiberius was greatly given to aſtrology and divination.

die under that torment. Now although he were diſordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to thoſe for whom he did not intend it, he ſpake thus to Caius, though unwillingly and againſt his own inclination: "O child! although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art; I, by my own determination, and the conſpiring ſuffrage of the gods, do give, and put into thy hand, the Roman empire; and I deſire thee never to be unmindful when thou comeſt to it, either of my kindneſs to thee, who ſet thee in ſo high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knoweſt that I am, together with, and after the gods, the the procurer of ſo great happineſs to thee, ſo I deſire that thou wilt make me a return for my readineſs to aſſiſt thee, and will take care of Tiberius becauſe of his near relation to thee. Beſides which thou art to know, that, while Tiberius is alive, he will be a ſecurity to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preſervation; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for, to be alone, under the weight of ſuch vaſt affairs is very dangerous; nor will the gods ſuffer thoſe actions which are unjuſtly done contrary to that law which directs men to act otherwiſe to go off unpuniſhed." This was the ſpeech which Tiberius made, which did not perſuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promiſed ſo to do; but, when he was ſettled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was alſo himſelf in no long time afterward ſlain by a ſecret plot laid againſt him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his ſucceſſor, he outlived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days: Now Caius was the fourth emperor. But when the Romans underſtood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not becauſe they were unwilling it ſhould be true, for they would have given large ſums of money that it might be ſo, but becauſe they were afraid, that if they had ſhewed their joy when the news proved falſe, their joy ſhould be openly known, and they ſhould be accuſed for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vaſt number of miſeries on the beſt families of the Romans, ſince he was eaſily enflamed with paſſion in all caſes, and was of ſuch a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the ſame, although he had taken an hatred againſt men without reaſon; for he was by nature fierce in all the ſentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the lighteſt offences; inſomuch that when the Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly, they were reſtrained from the enjoyment of that pleaſure by the dread of ſuch miſeries as they foreſaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Marſyas, Agrippa's freed-man, as ſoon as he heard of Tiberius's death came running to tell

Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion * is dead:" who understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay, said he, but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine; only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion, who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his farther pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he was already become his friend; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said, That "Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days." At which news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might have cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Cæsar; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt not thou pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head!" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again, (for he had loosed him before,) and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius, one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for although he were still in custody, yet it was now with ease to his own affairs. Now as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day, but Antonia hindered him; not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should

* This name of a *Lion* is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa, and probably his freed man Marsyas, in effect were, Ezek. xix. 1—9. Esth xiv. 13. 2. Tim. iv. 17. They are also sometimes compared to, or represented by wild beasts, of which the lion is the principal. Dan. vii. 3—8. Apoc. xiii. 1, 2.

make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he had bound immediately. However, there did not many days pass ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment, after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias*, and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.

11. Now in the second year of the reign of Caius Cæsar Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government, and he promised to return again, when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him, the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him an happy man, and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

CHAP. VII.

How Herod the Tetrarch was Banished.

§ 1. BUT Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since when he ran away, it was because he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs, and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was by reason of the envy she had towards him; but she excited her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome, to court honours equal to his: For she said, That "she could not bear to live any longer, while Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to die by his father, one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessaries of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors by sea, he now returned a king; while he was himself the son of a king, and while the near relation he bare to royal authority, called

* Although Caius now promised to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lysanias, yet was it not actually conferred upon him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn Antiq. B. XIX. chap. v. sect. 1. Vol. II.

upon him to gain the like dignity, he ſat ſtill, and was contented with a privater life. But then, Herod, although thou waſt formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father, from whom thou waſt derived, had been; yet do thou now ſeek after the dignity which thy kinſman hath attained to; and do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches, ſhould be in greater honour than thyſelf, nor ſuffer his poverty to ſhew itſelf able to purchaſe greater things than our abundance, nor do thou eſteem it other than a ſhameful thing to be inferior to one who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us ſpare no pains nor expences, either of ſilver or gold, ſince they cannot be kept for any better uſe, than for the obtaining of a kingdom."

2. But for Herod, he oppoſed her requeſt at this time, out of the love of eaſe, and having a ſuſpicion of the trouble he ſhould have at Rome; ſo he tried to inſtruct her better. But the more ſhe ſaw him draw back, the more ſhe preſſed him to it, and deſired him to leave no ſtone unturned in order to be king: And at laſt ſhe left not off till ſhe engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her ſentiments, becauſe he could no otherwiſe avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, after as ſumptuous a manner as he was able, and ſpared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa when he was made ſenſible of their intentions and preparations, he alſo prepared to go thither; and as ſoon as he heard they ſet ſail, he ſent Fortunatus, one of his freed men to Rome, to carry preſents to the emperor, and letters againſt Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of thoſe matters, if he ſhould have any opportunity. This man followed Herod ſo quick, and had ſo proſperous a voyage, and came ſo little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he came himſelf, and delivered his letters; for they both ſailed to Dicearchia, and found Caius at Baiæ, which is itſelf a little city of Campania, at the diſtance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces with ſumptuous apartments, every emperor ſtill endeavouring to out-do his predeceſſor's magnificence: The place alſo affords warm baths, that ſpring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of thoſe that make uſe of them, and beſides, they miniſter to men's luxury alſo. Now Caius ſaluted Herod, for he firſt met with him, and then looked upon the letters which Agrippa had ſent him, and which were written in order to accuſe Herod; wherein he accuſed him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus, againſt Tiberius's government, and that he was now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in oppoſition to the government of Caius; as a demonſtration of which he alledged, that he had armour ſufficient for ſeventy thouſand men ready in his armoury. Cai-

us was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armour was true; and when he confessed there was such armour there, for he could not deny the fame, the truth of it being notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own, and told her, that "it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband." But she made this reply; "Thou, indeed, O emperor, acted after a magnificent manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift; for it is not just, that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes" Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius managed public affairs with very great magnanimity, during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good will both of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But in process of time he went beyond the bounds of human nature, in his conceit of himself, and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity himself.

CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning * the ambassage of the Jews to Caius; and how Caius sent Petronius into Syria to make War against the Jews, unless they would receive his statue.*

§ 1. THERE was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and three † ambassadors were chosen out of each party} that were

* This is a most remarkable chapter, as containing such instances of the interposition of Providence, as have been always very rare among the other idolatrous nations, but of old very many among the posterity of Abraham, the worshippers of the true God; nor do these seem much inferior to those in the Old Testament, which are the more remarkable, because, among all their other follies and vices, the Jews were not at this time idolaters; and the deliverances here mentioned were done in order to prevent their relapse into that idolatry.

† Josephus here assures us, that the ambassadors from Alexandria to Caius were

at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Cæsar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews. as he was likely to be; but Philo, the principal of the Jewish ambassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander * the alabarch, and one not unskilful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bid him be gone: He was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo being thus affronted went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that "they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed shewed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself."

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to the president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops, and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Cæsar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many ten thousands of the Jews to Petronius to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that "he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law

on each part no more than three in number, for the Jews, and for the Gentiles, which are but six in all: Whereas Philo, who was the principal ambassador from the Jews, as Josephus here confesses (as was Apion for the Gentiles), says, the Jews ambassadors were themselves no fewer than five. towards the end of his legation to Caius; which, if there be no mistake in the copies, must be supposed the truth; nor, in that case, would Josephus have contradicted so authentic a witness, had he seen that account of Philo's, which that he ever did, does not appear.

* This Alexander, the alabarch, or governor of the Jews at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, is supposed by bishop Pearson, in Act. Apost. p 41, 42. to be the same with that Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the kindred of the high-priests, Acts, iv. 6.

of their forefathers; but if, said they, thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on; for while we are alive, we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers determination, that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, "If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination. and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Cæsar hath sent to me, I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction." Then the Jews replied, "Since therefore thou art so disposed, O Petronius, that thou wilt not disobey Caius's epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and by the labours of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage; and if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them in order to preserve our laws, as knowing, that those who expose themselves to dangers, have good hope of escaping them; because God will stand on our side, when out of regard to him we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby shewing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thyself being judge, is superior to Caius."

3. When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was hard to be removed, and that without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of blood shed. he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hasted to Tiberias as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you then make war with Cæsar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" They replied, "We will not by any means make war with him, but still we will die before we see our laws transgressed." So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain; and this they did for forty days to-

gether, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the ſeaſon * of the year required them to ſow it. Thus they continued firm in their reſolution, and propoſed to themſelves to die willingly, rather than to ſee the dedication of the ſtatue.

4. When matters were in this ſtate, Ariſtobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and beſought him, That "ſince he ſaw the reſolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to deſpair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an inſuperable averſeneſs to the reception of the ſtatue, and how they continued with him, and left off the tillage of their ground: That they were not willing to go to war with him, becauſe they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleaſure, rather than ſuffer their laws to be tranſgreſſed: And how, upon the lands continuing unſown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that perhaps Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of deſtroying the nation: That if he continues inflexible in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then ſet about it himſelf." And thus did Ariſtobulus, and the reſt with him, ſupplicate Petronius. So Petronius †, partly on account of the preſſing inſtances which Ariſtobulus and the reſt with him made, and becauſe of the great conſequence of what they deſired, and the earneſtneſs wherewith they made their ſupplication; partly on account of the firmneſs of the oppoſition made by the Jews, which he ſaw, while he thought it an horrible thing for him to be ſuch a ſlave to the madneſs of Caius, as to ſlay ſo many ten thouſand men, only becauſe of their religious diſpoſition towards God, and after that to paſs his life in expectation of puniſhment; Petronius, I ſay, thought it much better to ſend to Caius and to let him know how intolerable it was to him to bear the anger he might have againſt him for not ſerving him ſooner, in obedience to his epiſtle, for that perhaps he might perſuade him; and that if his mad reſolution continued, he might

* What Joſephus here, and ſect. 6. relates as done by the Jews *before ſeed-time*, is, in Philo, not far off the time *when the corn was ripe*, who, as Le Clerc notes, differ here one from the other. This is another indication that Joſephus, when he wrote this account, had not ſeen Philo's Legat. ad Caium, otherwiſe he would hardly have herein diſſered from him.

† This Publius Petronius was after this ſtill preſident of Syria, under Claudius, and, at the deſire of Agrippa, published a ſevere decree againſt the inhabitants of Dora, who, in a ſort of imitation of Caius, had ſet up a ſtatue of Claudius in a Jewish ſynagogue there. This decree is extant, B. *XIX.* ch. vi. ſect. 3. Vol. II. and greatly confirms the preſent accounts of Joſephus, as do the other decrees of Claudius, relating to the like Jewish affairs, B. *XIX.* ch. v. ſect. 2, 3. Vol. II. to which I refer the inquiſitive reader.

then begin the war againſt them; nay, that in caſe he ſhould turn his hatred againſt himſelf, it was fit for virtuous perſons even to die for the ſake of ſuch vaſt multitudes of men. Accordingly he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias, who came, many ten thouſands in number; he alſo placed that army he now had with him oppoſite to them; but did not diſcover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them, That his wrath would without delay be executed on ſuch as had the courage to diſobey what he had commanded, and this immediately; and that it was fit for him, who had received ſo great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing: Yet," ſaid he, "I do not think it juſt to have ſuch a regard to my own ſafety and honour, as to refuſe to ſacrifice them for your preſervation, who are ſo many in number, and endeavour to preſerve the regard that is due to your law, which, as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, ſo do you eſteem it worthy of your utmoſt contention to preſerve it: nor, with the ſupreme aſſiſtance and power of God, will I be ſo hardy as to ſuffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will therefore ſend to Caius, and let him know what your reſolutions are, and will aſſiſt your ſuit as far as I am able, that you may not be expoſed to ſuffer on account of the honeſt deſigns you have propoſed to yourſelves; and may God be our aſſiſtant, for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men; and may he procure you the preſervation of your ancient laws, and may not he be deprived, though without your conſent, of his accuſtomed honours. But if Caius be irritated and turn the violence of his rage upon me I will rather undergo all that danger and that affliction that may come either on my body or my ſoul, than ſee ſo many of you to periſh, while you are acting in ſo excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your way about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your ground; I will myſelf ſend to Rome, and will not refuſe to ſerve you in all things, both by myſelf and by my friends."

6. When Petronius had ſaid this, and had diſmiſſed the aſſembly of the Jews, he deſired the principal of them to take care of their huſbandry, and to ſpeak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God ſhew his preſence * to Petronius, and ſignify to him, that he

* Joſephus here uſes the ſolemn New Teſtament words, παρουσία, and ἐπιφανεια, the *preſence* and *appearance* of God, for the extraordinary manifeſtation of his power and providence to Petronius, by ſending rain in a time of diſtreſs, immediately upon the reſolution he had taken to preſerve the temple unpolluted, at the hazard of his own life, without any other miraculous appearance at all in that caſe; which well deſerves to be taken notice of here, and greatly illuſtrates ſeveral texts both in the Old and New Teſtament.

would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation; for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain; nay the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens over-cast with clouds; insomuch that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner, and without any other expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance *, and this to such a degree, that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary, had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to intreat him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distracted; whom if he should slay, (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their governor, had shewed his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

7. But king Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favour of Caius, and when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all other both in expences, and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it, (such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Cæsar): Hereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expences as he could bear, and was desirous not to be behind Agrippa in that generosity, which he exerted in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drunk to him: "I knew before now † how great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great kindness thou hast shewed me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwentest under Tiberius on that account; nor hast thou omitted any thing to shew thy good-will towards us, even

* See the preceding note.

† This behaviour of Caius to Agrippa, is very like that of Herod Antipas, his uncle, to Herodias, Agrippa's sister, about John the Baptist, Matt. xiv. 6—11.

beyond thy ability; whence it would be a baſe thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore deſirous to make thee amends for every thing, in which I have been formerly deficient, for all that I have beſtowed on thee, that may be called my gifts, is but little. Every thing that may contribute to thy happineſs ſhall be at thy ſervice, and that cheerfully, and ſo far as my ability will reach." And this was what Caius ſaid to Agrippa, thinking he would aſk for ſome large country, or the revenues of certain cities. But although he had prepared before-hand what he would aſk yet had he not diſcovered his intentions, but made this anſwer to Caius immediately: That "it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his reſpects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him: That the gifts he had already beſtowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man; for although they may be beneath thy power, [who art the donor], yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver." And as Caius was aſtoniſhed at Agrippa's inclinations, and ſtill the more preſſed him to make his requeſt for ſomewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my lord, declareſt ſuch is thy readineſs to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will aſk nothing relating to my own felicity; for what thou haſt already beſtowed on me has made me excel therein; but I deſire ſomewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and render the divinity aſſiſtant to thy deſigns, and may be for an honour to me among thoſe that enquire about it, as ſhewing that I never once fail of obtaining what I deſire of thee; for my petition is this, That thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that ſtatue which thou haſt ordered to be ſet up in the Jewiſh temple by Petronius."

8. And thus did Agrippa venture to caſt the die upon this occaſion, ſo great was the affair in his opinion, and in reality, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was ſo to ſpeak; for, had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no leſs than the loſs of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behaviour, and on other accounts thinking it a diſhonourable thing to be guilty of falſehood before ſo many witneſſes, in points wherein he had with ſuch alacrity forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had ſaid, and becauſe he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not deſiring him at all to augment his own dominions either with larger revenues, or other authority, but took care of the public tranquility, of the laws, and of the Divinity itſelf, he granted him what he had requeſted. He alſo wrote thus to Petronius, "commending him for his aſſembling his army, and then conſulting him about theſe affairs. If therefore, ſaid he, thou

haſt already erected my ſtatue, let it ſtand; but, if thou haſt not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyſelf farther about it, but diſmiſs thy army, go back, and take care of thoſe affairs which I ſent thee about at firſt, for I have now no occaſion for the erection of that ſtatue. Thus I have granted as a favour to Agrippa, a man whom I honour ſo very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he deſired me to do for him." And this was what Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolt about the ſtatue, and that they ſeemed reſolved to threaten war againſt the Romans, and nothing elſe. When therefore Caius was much diſpleaſed that any attempt ſhould be made againſt his government, as he was a ſlave to baſe and vicious actions on all occaſions, and had no regard to what was virtuous and honourable, and againſt whomſoever he reſolved to ſhew his anger, and that for any cauſe whatſoever, he ſuffered not himſelf to be reſtrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleaſure, he wrote thus to Petronius: "Seeing thou eſteemeſt the preſents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown inſolent enough to be ſubſervient to their pleaſure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to conſider what thou art to do, now thou art under my diſpleaſure; for I will make thee an example to the preſent and to all future ages, that they may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

9. This was the epiſtle which Caius wrote to Petronius, but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive, that ſhip which carried it ſailing ſo ſlow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he underſtood that Caius was dead; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honour. But when he had taken Caius away, out of his indignation of what he had ſo inſolently attempted in aſſuming to himſelf divine worſhip, both Rome and all that dominion conſpired with Petronius, eſpecially thoſe that were of the ſenatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, becauſe he had been unmercifully ſevere to them; for he died not long after he had written to Petronius that epiſtle which threatened him with death. But as for the occaſion of his death, and the nature of the plot againſt him, I ſhall relate them in the progreſs of this narration. Now that epiſtle which informed Petronius of Caius's death came firſt, and a little afterward came that which commanded him to kill himſelf with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius, and admired God's providence, who without the leaſt delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the aſſiſtance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means Petronius eſcaped that danger of death, which he could not foreſee.

CHAP. IX.

What befel the Jews that were in Babylon, on occaſion of Aſineus and Anileus, two brethren.

§ 1. A VERY ſad calamity now befel the Jews that were in Meſopotamia, and eſpecially thoſe that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities which had gone before, and came together with a great ſlaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before; concerning all which I ſhall ſpeak accurately, and ſhall explain the occaſions whence theſe miſeries came upon them. There was a city in Babylonia called Neerda; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and a large territory about it, and, beſides its other advantages, full of men alſo. It was, beſides, not eaſily to be aſſaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompaſſing it all round, and from the walls that were built about it. There was alſo the city Niſibis, ſituate on the ſame current of the river. For which reaſon, the Jews, depending on the natural ſtrength of theſe places, depoſited in them that half ſhekel which every one, by the cuſtom of our country, offers unto God as well as they did other things devoted to him, for they made uſe of theſe cities as a treaſury, whence, at a proper time, they were tranſmitted to Jeruſalem; and many ten thouſand men undertook the carriage of thoſe donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then ſubject. Now there were two men, Aſineus and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were deſtitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains, it not being eſteemed a diſgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. Now he that taught them that art, and was ſet over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and puniſhed them with ſtripes; but they took this juſt puniſhment as an affront, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that houſe, which were not a few, and went into a certain place where was as partition of rivers, and was a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preſerving ſuch fruits as were uſually laid up againſt winter. The pooreſt ſort of the young men alſo reſorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders into miſchief; for as ſoon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel, they ſent to ſuch as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them ſo much tribute out of them as might be ſufficient for their maintenance, propoſing alſo that they would be their friends, if they would ſubmit to them, and that they would defend them from all their

other enemies on every ſide, but that they would kill the cattle of thoſe that refuſed to obey them. So they hearkened to their propoſals (for they could do nothing elſe), and ſent them as many ſheep as were required of them; whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleaſed, becauſe they marched ſuddenly, and did them a miſchief, inſomuch that every body who had to do with them, choſe to pay them reſpect, and they became formidable to ſuch as came to aſſault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himſelf.

2. But when the governor of Babylonia underſtood this, and had a mind to put a ſtop to them, before they grew greater, and before greater miſchiefs ſhould ariſe from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched againſt them, thinking to attack them, and deſtroy them before any one ſhould carry them the news, that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay ſtill; but on the next day (it was the Sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of reſt from all ſorts of work), he ſuppoſed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he would take them and carry them away priſoners, without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the ſudden. Now Aſineus was ſitting with the reſt, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he ſaid, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horſes; not of ſuch as are feeding, but ſuch as have men on their backs; I alſo hear ſuch a noiſe of their bridles, that I am afraid that ſome enemies are coming upon us to encompaſs us round. However, let ſomebody go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the preſent * ſtate of things; and may what I have ſaid prove a falſe alarm." And, when he had ſaid this, ſome of them went out to ſpy out what was the matter, and they came again immediately and ſaid to him, that "neither haſt thou been miſtaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will thoſe enemies be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beaſts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are deſtitute of hands to defend ourſelves withal, becauſe we are reſtrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to reſt [on this day]. But Aſineus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his ſpy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their ſpirits in this neceſſity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themſelves, although they ſhould die in the action, than by doing nothing

* Ἐνεστηκοτων is here, and in very many other places of Joſephus, *immediately at hand*, and is to be ſo expounded, 2 Theſſ. ii 2. when ſome falſely pretended that St Paul had ſaid either by word of mouth, or by an epiſtle, or by both, that *the day of Chriſt was immediately at hand*; for ſtill St Paul did then plainly think that day not very many years future.

to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

3. But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore, sent the most trusty of all his guards to say thus to them, "That king Artabanus, although he hath been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behaviour, than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you his right-hand *, and security, and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road, and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as his friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you." Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother Anileus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and staid by the lake, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and gave him his right hand †. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you, when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them; for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest when he was engaged in a war in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia, should be augmented, and either make war upon him, when they should hear

* The joining of the right hands was esteemed among the Persians [and Parthians] in particular, a most inviolable obligation to fidelity, as Dr Hudson here observes, and refers to the commentary on Justin, B. XI. ch. xv. for its confirmation. We often meet with the like use of it in Josephus.

† See the above note.

of that revolt, or, if they ſhould be diſappointed in that caſe, they would not fail of doing farther miſchief to him.

4. When the king had theſe intentions, he ſent away Anileus, and Anileus prevailed on his brother [to come to the king], when he had related to him the king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly they made haſte to go to Artabanus, who received them, when they were come with pleaſure, and admired Aſineus's courage in the actions he had done, and this becauſe he was a little man to ſee to, and at firſt ſight appeared contemptible alſo, and ſuch as one might deem a perſon of no value at all. He alſo ſaid to his friends, how, upon the compariſon, he ſhewed his ſoul to be, in all reſpects, ſuperior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together he once ſhewed Aſineus to Abdagaſes, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and deſcribed the great courage he was of in war, and Abdagaſes, had deſired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a puniſhment for thoſe injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, eſpecially not after I have ſent him my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But, if thou beeſt a truly warlike man, thou ſtandeſt not in need of my perjury. Go thou then, and avenge the Parthian government; attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privity." Hereupon the king called for Aſineus, and ſaid to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man, to return home, and not provoke the indignation of my generals in this place any farther, leaſt they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in truſt, that it may, by thy care be preſerved free from robbers, and from other miſchiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in thoſe that concerned thy ſafety, and do therefore deſerve thou ſhouldſt be kind to me." When he had ſaid this, and given Aſineus ſome preſents, he ſent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, built fortreſſes, and became great in a little time, and managed things with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, as no other perſon, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Thoſe Parthian governors alſo, who were ſent that way, paid him great reſpect; and the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians ſeemed to them too ſmall, and beneath his deſerts, although he were in no ſmall dignity and power there: Nay, indeed, all the affairs of Meſopotamia depended upon him, and he more and more flouriſhed in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

5. But as their affairs were in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate, there ſprang up a calamity among them on the following occaſion. When once they had deviated from that courſe of virtue

whereby they had gained so great power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty; Anileus, the brother of Asineus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also. and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her; as soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes both to Anileus himself, and to Asineus also; but brought great mischiefs upon them on the occasion following. Since she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were their country gods, common to her husband and to herself: Now it is the custom * of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land; agreeably to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately, but when she was become Anileus's married wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first, that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies; that he ought to consider, lest by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying, out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Anileus, and upon Asineus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and

* This custom of the Mesopotamians to carry their household gods along with them whereves they travelled, is as old as the days of Jacob, when Rachel his wife did the same, Gen. xxxi. 19, 30—35. nor is it to pass here unobserved, what great miseries came on these Jews, because they suffered one of their leaders to marry an idolatrous wife, contrary to the law of Moses. Of which matter see he note on B. *XIX.* ch. v. § 3. Vol. II.

upon the reſt as thoſe that would not aſſiſt him when he ſuffered in the defence of their laws. Now theſe latter were ſorely grieved, yet did they tolerate theſe doings, becauſe they remembered that they had arrived at their preſent happy ſtate by no other means than their fortitude. But when they alſo heard of the worſhip of thoſe gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a greater number of them came to Aſineus, and loudly complained of Anileus, and told him, that "it had been well that he had of himſelf ſeen what was advantageous to them, but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done amiſs, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himſelf, and all the reſt of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their conſent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worſhip which this woman paid [to her gods] was a reproach to the God whom they worſhipped." Now Aſineus was ſenſible of his brother's offence, that it had been already the cauſe of great miſchiefs, and would be ſo for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the ſame from the good will he had to ſo near a relation, and forgiving it to him, on account that his brother was quite over-borne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more ſtill came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length ſpake to Anileus about theſe clamours, reproving him for his former actions, and deſiring him for the future to leave them off, and ſend the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by theſe reproofs; for as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anileus, leſt he ſhould come to any harm for his love to her, ſhe infuſed poiſon into Aſineus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now ſecure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what ſhould be done about her.

6. So Anileus took the government upon himſelf alone, and led his army againſt the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus's daughter; he alſo plundered them, and among that prey was found much money, and many ſlaves as alſo a great number of ſheep, and many other things, which, when gained, make mens condition happy. Now when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much diſpleaſed to find that Anileus had firſt begun to injure him, and to affront him in his preſent dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him before-hand; and he got together the greateſt body of horſemen he was able, and thoſe out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anileus; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay ſtill there, as intending to fight him on the day following, becauſe it was the Sabbath, the day

on which the Jews reſt. And when Anileus was informed of this by a Syrian ſtranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumſtances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feaſt, he took his ſupper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprized what they ſhould do; ſo he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and ſome of them he ſlew while they were aſleep, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and ſet him naked upon an aſs*, which among the Parthians is eſteemed the greateſt reproach poſſible. And when he had brought him into a wood with ſuch a reſolution, and his friends deſired him to kill Mithridates, he ſoon told them his own mind to the contrary, and ſaid that "it was not right to kill a man who was one of the principal families among the Parthians, and greatly honoured with matching into the royal family; that ſo far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had injured Mithridates, yet if they preſerved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of thoſe that gave it him; but that if he were once put to death, the king would not be at reſt till he had made a great ſlaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon; to whoſe ſafety we ought to have a regard both on account of our relation to them, and becauſe if any misfortune befal us, we have no other place to retire to, ſince he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him." By this thought, and this ſpeech of his made in council, he perſuaded them to act accordingly; ſo Mithridates was let go. But when he was got away, his wife reproached him, that "although he was ſon-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himſelf on thoſe that had injured him, while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have eſcaped them; and ſhe bid him either to go back like a man of courage, or elſe ſhe ſware by the gods of their royal family, that ſhe would certainly diſſolve her marriage with him." Upon which, partly becauſe he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly becauſe he was afraid of her inſolence, leſt ſhe ſhould in earneſt diſſolve her marriage, he unwillingly, and againſt his inclinations, got together again as large an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himſelf thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, ſhould owe his preſervation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

7. But as ſoon as Anileus underſtood that Mithridates was

* This cuſtom in Syria and Meſopotamia, of ſetting men upon an aſs, by way of diſgrace, is ſtill kept up at Damaſcus in Syria; where, in order to ſhow their deſpite againſt the Chriſtians, the Turks will not ſuffer them to hire horſes, but aſſes only, when they go abroad to ſee the country, as Mr. Maundrell aſſures us, page 128.

marching with a great army againſt him, he thought it too ignominious a thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the firſt opportunity of meeting his enemies and he hoped to have the ſame ſucceſs, and to beat their enemies as they did before; as alſo he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly he led out his army, and a great many more joined themſelves, to that army, in order to betake themſelves to plunder the people, and in order to terrify the enemy again by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry [and ſandy] places, and about the midſt of the day, they were become very thirſty; and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in diſtreſs for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of day they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anileus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, while men in deſpair were to attack thoſe that were freſh, and in good plight; ſo a great ſlaughter was made, and many ten thouſand men fell. Now Anileus, and all that ſtood firm about him, ran away, as faſt as they were able, into a wood, and afforded Mithridates the pleaſure of having a great victory over them. But there now came in to Anileus a conflux of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain ſome preſent eaſe, inſomuch that they by thus coming to him, compenſated the multitude of thoſe that periſhed in the fight. Yet were not theſe men like to thoſe that fell, becauſe they were raſh, and unexerciſed in war; however, with theſe he came upon the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devaſtation of all things was made there by the injuries that Anileus did them. So the Babylonians, and thoſe that had already been in the war, ſent to Neerda to the Jews there, and demanded Anileus. But although they did not agree to their demands, (for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power ſo to do; yet did they deſire to make peace with them. To which the other replied, that they alſo wanted to ſettle conditions of peace with them, and ſent men together with the Babylonians, who diſcourſed with Anileus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his ſituation, and having learned where Anileus and his men lay, fell ſecretly upon them as they were drunk, and fallen aſleep, and ſlew all that they caught of them, without any fear, and killed Anileus himſelf alſo.

8. The Babylonians were now freed from Anileus's heavy incurſions, which had been a great reſtraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews; for they were almoſt always at variance, by reaſon of the contrariety of their laws; and which party ſoever grew boldeſt before the other, they aſſaulted the other: And at this time in particular it was, that, upon the ruin of Anileus's party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews, which made thoſe Jews ſo vehemently to reſent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being nei-

ther able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians; not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years without any misfortunes. But on the sixth year, a pestilence came upon those at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of mens habitations out of that city; and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account, which I am going to relate immediately.

9. Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, which were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discord, though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When therefore the Jews were come thither, and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now when the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, they every one discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their acquaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation, and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them; nay the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped either by the compassion which their friends or neighbours afforded them, in order to let them fly away. These retired to Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situated near to Seleucia, where the king [of Parthia] lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are reposited; but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honour. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians, and of the Seleucians, because all the Syrians that live in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews; so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda, and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

BOOK XIX.

Containing the interval of three years and an half.

[*From the departure of the* JEWS *out of Babylon, to* FADUS *the Roman Procurator.*]

CHAP. I.

*How Caius * was slain by Chereas.*

§ 1. NOW this Caius † did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighbourhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs; so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities but he pulled and hauled its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after an ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain and their wealth plundered; because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours to be paid him by his subjects, than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they stile the capitol, which is with them the most holy of all their temples, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a

* In this and the three next chapters, we have, I think a larger and more distinct account of the slaughter of Caius, and the succession of Claudius, than we have of any such ancient facts whatsoever elsewhere. Some of the occasions of which probably were, Josephus's bitter hatred against tyranny, and the pleasure he took in giving the history of the slaughter of such a barbarous tyrant as was this Caius Caligula, as also the deliverance his own nation had by that slaughter, of which he speaks sect. 2. together with that great intimacy he had with Agrippa junior, whose father was deeply concerned in the advancement of Claudius, upon the death of Caius; from which Agrippa junior, Josephus might be fully informed of this history.

† Called *Caligula* by the Romans.

bridge from the city Dicerchia, which belongs to Campania, to Miſenum, another city upon the ſea ſide. from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as meaſured over the ſea. And this was done, becauſe he eſteemed it to be a moſt tedious thing to row over it in a ſmall ſhip, and thought withal, that it became him to make that bridge, ſince he was lord of the ſea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; ſo he encloſed the whole bay within his bridge and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over ſuch roads as this was. Nor did he abſtain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave order that all the engravings and ſculptures, and the reſt of the ornaments of the ſtatues and donations therein dedicated, ſhould be brought to him, ſaying, that "the beſt things ought to be ſet no where but in the beſt place, and that the city of Rome was that beſt place." He alſo adorned his own houſe and his gardens with the curioſities brought from thoſe temples, together with the houſes he lay at when he travelled all over Italy; whence he did not ſcruple to give a command, that the ſtatue of Jupiter Olympius, ſo called, becauſe he was honoured at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, ſhould be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compaſs his end, becauſe the architects told Memmius Reglus, who was commanded to remove that ſtatue of Jupiter, that the workmanſhip was ſuch as would be ſpoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was alſo reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of ſome ſuch mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and wrote to Caius thoſe accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epiſtle required of him; and that when he was thence in danger of periſhing, he was ſaved by Caius's being dead himſelf, before he had put him to death.

2. Nay, Caius's madneſs came to this height, that when he had a daughter born he carried her into the Capitol, and put her upon the knees of the ſtatue, and ſaid, that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that ſhe had two fathers, but which of theſe fathers were the greateſt, he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore him in ſuch his pranks. He alſo gave leave to ſlaves to accuſe their maſters of any crimes whatſoever they pleaſed; for all ſuch accuſations were terrible, becauſe they were in great part made to pleaſe him, and at his ſuggeſtion, inſomuch that Pallux, Claudius's ſlave, had the boldneſs to lay an accuſation againſt Claudius himſelf, and Caius was not aſhamed to be preſent at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not ſucceed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world, which he governed, with falſe accuſations and miſeries, and had occaſioned the great-

eſt inſult of ſlaves againſt their maſters, who indeed in great meaſure ruled them, there were many ſecret plots now laid againſt him; ſome in anger, and in order for men to revenge themſelves, on account of the miſeries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off before they ſhould fall into ſuch great miſeries, while his death came very fortunately for the preſervation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened moſt happily for our nation in particular, which had almoſt utterly periſhed if he had not been ſuddenly ſlain. And I confeſs I have a mind to give a full account of this matter, particularly becauſe it will afford great aſſurance of the power of God, and great comfort to thoſe that are under afflictions, and wiſe caution to thoſe who think their happineſs will never end, nor bring them at length to the moſt laſting miſeries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

2. Now there were three ſeveral conſpiracies made in order to take off Caius, and each of theſe three were conducted by excellent perſons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got ſome men together, and was deſirous to take Caius off, either by them, or by himſelf. Another conſpiracy there was laid by them, under the conduct of Cherea Caſſius, the tribune [of the Pretorian band]; Minucianus Annius was alſo one of great conſequence among thoſe that were prepared to oppoſe his tyranny. Now the ſeveral occaſions of theſe mens ſeveral hatred and conſpiracy againſt Caius were theſe: Regulus had indignation and hatred againſt all injuſtice, for he had a mind naturally angry, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counſels; ſo he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others, who ſeemed to him perſons of activity and vigour: Minucianus entered into this conſpiracy, becauſe of the injuſtice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the beſt character of all the citizens, whom Caius had ſlain, as alſo becauſe he was afraid of himſelf, ſince Caius's wrath tended to the ſlaughter of all alike: And for Cherea, he came in, becauſe he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill Caius, and was aſhamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward; as alſo becauſe he was himſelf in danger every day from his friendſhip with him, and the obſervance he paid him. Theſe men propoſed this attempt to all the reſt that were concerned, who ſaw the injuries that were offered them, and were deſirous that Caius's ſlaughter might ſucceed by their mutual aſſiſtance of one another, and they might themſelves eſcape being killed by the taking off Caius; that perhaps they ſhould gain their point, and that it would be an happy thing if they ſhould gain it, to approve themſelves to ſo many excellent perſons as earneſtly wiſhed to be partakers with them in their deſign, for the delivery of the city and of the government, even at the

hazard of their own lives. But ſtill Cherea was the moſt zealous of them all, both out of a deſire of getting himſelf the greateſt name, and alſo by reaſon of his acceſs to Caius's preſence, with leſs danger, becauſe he was tribune, and could therefore the more eaſily kill him.

4. Now at this time came on the horſe races [Circenſian games]; the view of which games was eagerly deſired by the people of Rome; for they came with great alacrity into the hippodrome [circus] at ſuch times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they ſtand in need of; who uſually did not think fit to deny them their requeſts, but readily and greatfully granted them. Accordingly they moſt importunately deſired, that Caius would now eaſe them in their tributes, and abate ſomewhat of the rigour of the taxes impoſed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and, when their clamours increaſed, he ſent ſoldiers, ſome one way, and ſome another, and gave order, that they ſhould lay hold on thoſe that made the clamours, and without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death. Theſe were Caius's commands, and thoſe who were commanded executed the ſame; and the number of thoſe who were ſlain on this occaſion was very great. Now the people ſaw this and bore it ſo far, that they left off clamouring, becauſe they ſaw with their own eyes, that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. Theſe things made Cherea more reſolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius againſt men. He then at ſeveral times, thought to fall upon Caius even as he was feaſting; yet did he reſtrain himſelf by ſome conſiderations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper ſeaſon, that the attempt might not be fruſtrated, but that he might give the blow ſo as might certainly gain his purpoſe.

5. Cherea had been in the army a long time, yet was he not pleaſed with converſing ſo much with Caius. But Caius had ſet him to require the tributes, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Cæſar's treaſury; and he had made ſome delays in requiring them, becauſe thoſe burdens had been doubled, and had rather indulged his own mild diſpoſition, than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his ſparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes, of thoſe from whom he demanded the taxes, and Caius upbraided him with his ſloth and effeminacy in being ſo long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other reſpects, but when he gave him the watch word of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words, and thoſe of a nature very reproachful; and theſe watch-words he gave out, as having been initiated in the ſecrets of certain myſteries, which he had been himſelf the author of. Now, although he had ſometimes put on womens

clothes, and had been wrapt in ſome embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company miſtake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womaniſh behaviour to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watch word from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by thoſe that received it; inſomuch that his fellow-tribunes made him the ſubject of their drollery; for they would foretel that he would bring them ſome of his uſual watch-words, when he was about to take the watch-word from Cæſar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the courage of aſſuming certain partners to him, as having juſt reaſons for his indignation againſt Caius. Now there was one Pompedius a ſenator, and one who had gone through almoſt all poſts in the government, but otherwiſe an Epicurean, and for that reaſon loved to lead an unactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his had informed Caius, that he had uſed indecent reproaches againſt him, and he made uſe of Quintilia for a witneſs to them; a woman ſhe was much beloved by many that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pompedius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it an horrible thing to atteſt to an accuſation that touched the life of her lover, which was alſo a lie. Timidius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he uſed to employ Cherea in ſuch bloody matters, and thoſe that required the torture, becauſe he thought he would do it the more barbarouſly, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. Bnt Quintilia, when ſhe was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her aſſociates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the conſequences of her tortures; for that ſhe would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner; unwillingly indeed, but becauſe he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the leaſt moved at what ſhe had ſuffered, into the preſence of Caius, and that in ſuch a ſtate as was ſad to behold; and Caius, being ſomewhat affected with the ſight of Quintilia, who had her body miſerably diſordered by the pains ſhe had undergone, freed both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to their charge. He alſo gave her money to make her an honourable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body which ſhe had ſuffered, and for her glorious patience under ſuch unſufferable torments.

6. This matter ſorely grieved Cherea, as having been the cauſe as far as he could, or the inſtrument of thoſe miſeries to men, which ſeemed worthy of conſolation to Caius himſelf; on which account he ſaid to Clement and to Papinius (of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a

tribune). "To be sure, Clement, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor; for as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies?" Clement held his peace, but shewed the shame he was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by his eyes and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea took courage, and spake to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then laboured, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words, that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement, and this Papinius, and before us thou thyself who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief and his executioners, instead of his soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman government, but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we do, till somebody becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us, because he hath a kindness for us, but rather because he hath a suspicion of us; as also because when abundance more have been killed (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure), we shall also ourselves be exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

7. Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions; but bid him "hold his tongue; for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment; but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance: That, as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. However, although perhaps I could suggest what may be safer than what thou, Cherea, hast contrived, and said, yet

how is it poſſible for any one to ſuggeſt what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himſelf ſaid. Cherea alſo was under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus, who was himſelf one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwiſe knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty, and on that account very uneaſy at the preſent management of public affairs, he being deſirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined, and thinking it right for him to propoſe it to the other, and afraid leſt Clement ſhould diſcover them, and beſides looking upon delays and puttings off to be the next to deſiſting from the enterpriſe.

8. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himſelf, equally with Cherea, the ſame deſign, but had been ſilent for want of a perſon to whom he could ſafely communicate that deſign, ſo having now met with one, who not only promiſed to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and deſired of Cherea, that no delay might be made therein. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man and as zealous to do glorious actions as themſelves, and ſuſpected by Caius on occaſion of the ſlaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under; for Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general; and theſe men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneaſy at the poſture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred againſt Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred againſt Caius, and on that account were not averſe to a mutual kindneſs one towards another.

9. When Minucianus and Cherea had met together, and ſaluted one another (as they had been uſed in former converſations to give the upper hand to Minucianus both on account of his eminent dignity for he was the nobleſt of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men eſpecially when he made ſpeeches to them), Minucianus began firſt, and aſked Cherea, What was the watch-word he had received that day from Caius? for the affront, which was offered Cherea in giving the watch-words, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay, ſo long as to reply to that queſtion, out of the joy he had that Minucianus would have ſuch confidence in him as to diſcourſe with him. "But do thou," ſaid he, "give me the watch-word of liberty. And I return thee my thanks, that thou haſt ſo greatly encouraged me to exert myſelf after an extraordinary manner; nor do I ſtand in need of many words to encourage me, ſince both thou and I are of the

ſame mind, and partakers of the ſame reſolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have indeed but one ſword girt on, but this, one will ſerve us both. Come on, therefore, let us ſet about the work. Do thou go firſt, if thou haſt a mind, and bid me follow thee. or elſe I will go firſt, and thou ſhalt aſſiſt me, and we will aſſiſt one another, and truſt one another. Nor is there a neceſſity for even one ſword to ſuch as have a mind diſpoſed to ſuch works, by which mind the ſword uſes to be ſucceſsful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I ſolicitous what I may myſelf undergo; for I am not at leiſure to conſider the dangers that may come upon myſelf, ſo deeply am I troubled at the ſlavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt caſt upon our excellent laws, and at the deſtruction which hangs over all men by the means of Caius. I wiſh that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayſt eſteem me worthy of credit in theſe matters, ſeeing we are both of the ſame opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

10. When Minucianus ſaw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himſelf, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending him. and embracing him; ſo he let him go with his good wiſhes; and ſome affirm, that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the proſecution of what had been agreed among them; for, as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him, which bid him finiſh what he was about, and take the opportunity that providence afforded; and that Cherea at firſt ſuſpected that ſome one of the conſpirators had betrayed him, and he was caught, but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether ſomebody *, that was conſcious of what he was about, gave a ſignal for his encouragement, or whether it were God himſelf, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his deſign, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many, and they were all in their armour; ſome of the conſpirators being ſenators, and ſome of the equeſtrian order, and as many of the ſoldiery as were made acquainted with it; for there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happineſs to kill Caius, and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means ſoever any one could come at it, that he might not be behind-hand in theſe virtuous deſigns, but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this ſlaughter of a tyrant. And beſides theſe Calliſtus alſo, who was a freed-man of Caius, and

* Juſt ſuch a voice as this is related to be, came, and that from an unknown original alſo, to the famous Polycarp, as he was going to martyrdom, bidding him "play the man;" as the church of Smyrna aſſures us in their account of that his martyrdom, ſect. 9.

was the only man that had arrived at the greateſt degree of power under him; ſuch a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himſelf, by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired; for he took bribes moſt plenteouſly, and committed injuries without bounds, and was more extravagant in the uſe of his power in unjuſt proceedings than any other. He alſo knew the diſpoſition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had reſolved on. He had withal many other reaſons why he thought himſelf in danger, and the vaſtneſs of his wealth was not one of the leaſt of them: On which account he privately ingratiated himſelf with Claudius, and transferred his courtſhip to him, out of this hope, that in caſe upon the removal of Caius, the government ſhould come to him, his intereſt in ſuch changes ſhould lay a foundation for his preſerving his dignity under him, ſince he laid in before-hand a ſtock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had alſo the boldneſs to pretend, that he had been perſuaded to make away Claudius, by poiſoning him, but had ſtill invented ten thouſand excuſes for delaying to do it. But it ſeems probable to me, that Calliſtus only counterfeited this, in order to ingratiate himſelf with Claudius; for, if Caius had been in earneſt reſolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Calliſtus's excuſes, nor would Calliſtus, if he had been enjoined to do ſuch an act as was deſired by Caius have put it off, nor if he had diſobeyed thoſe injunctions of his maſter, had he eſcaped immediate puniſhment; while Claudius was preſerved from the madneſs of Caius by a certain divine providence, and Calliſtus pretended to ſuch a piece of merit as he no way deſerved.

11. However, the execution of Cherea's deſigns was put off from day to day by the ſloth of many therein concerned; for as to Cherea himſelf, he would not willingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time a fit time for it; for frequent opportunities offered themſelves; as when Caius went up to the Capitol to ſacrifice for his daughter, or when he ſtood upon his royal palace, and threw gold and ſilver pieces of money among the people, he might be puſhed down headlong, becauſe the top of the palace, that looks toward the market-place was very high; and alſo when he celebrated the myſteries, which he had appointed at that time; for he was then no way ſecluded from the people, but ſolicitous to do every thing carefully and decently, and was free from all ſuſpicion, that he ſhould be then aſſaulted by any body; and although the gods ſhould afford him no divine aſſiſtance to enable him to take away his life, yet had he ſtrength himſelf ſufficient to diſpatch Caius, even without a ſword. Thus was Cherea angry at his fellow-conſpirators, for fear they ſhould ſuffer a proper opportunity to paſs by; and they were themſelves ſenſible that he had juſt cauſe to be angry at them,

and that his eagerneſs was for his advantage; yet did they deſire he would have a little longer patience, left, upon any diſappointment they might meet with, they ſhould put the city into diſorder, and an inquiſition ſhould be made after the conſpiracy and ſhould render the courage of thoſe that were to attack Caius without ſucceſs, while he would then ſecure himſelf more carefully than ever againſt them; that it would therefore be the beſt to ſet about the work when the ſhews were exhibited in the palace. Theſe ſhews were acted in honour of that Cæſar, * who firſt of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himſelf; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were Patricians became ſpectators, together with their children and their wives, and Cæſar himſelf was to be alſo a ſpectator; and they reckoned among thoſe many ten thouſands, who would there be crowded into a narrow compaſs, they ſhould have a favourable opportunity to make their attempt upon him as he came in; becauſe his guards that ſhould protect him, if any of them ſhould have a mind to do it, would not here be able to give him any aſſiſtance.

12. Cherea conſented to this delay, and when the ſhews were exhibited, it was reſolved to do the work the firſt day. But fortune, which allowed a farther delay to his ſlaughter, was too hard for their foregoing reſolution; and, as three days of the regular time for theſe ſhews were now over, they had much ado to get the buſineſs done on the laſt day. Then Cherea called the conſpirators together, and ſpake thus to them: "So much time paſſed away without effect is a reproach to us, as delaying to go through ſuch a virtuous deſign as we are engaged in, but more fatal will this delay prove, if we be diſcovered, and the deſign be fruſtrated; for Caius will then become more cruel in his unjuſt proceedings. Do not we ſee how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave ſtill to tyrannize over them? While we ought to have procured them ſecurity for the future, and, by laying a foundation for the happineſs of others, gain to ourſelves great admiration and honour for all time to come." Now, while the conſpirators had nothing tolerable to ſay by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite reliſh what they were doing, but ſtood ſilent and aſtoniſhed, he ſaid farther, "O, my brave comrades, why do we make ſuch delays? Do not you ſee that this is the laſt day of theſe ſhews, and that Caius is about to go to ſea? For he is preparing to ſail to Alexandria, in order to ſee Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go after

* Here Joſephus ſuppoſes that it was Auguſtus, and not Julius Cæſar, who firſt changed the Roman common-wealth into a monarchy; for theſe ſhows were in honour of Auguſtus, as we ſhall learn in the next ſection but one.

a pompous manner, triumphing both at land and ſea? Shall not we be juſtly aſhamed of ourſelves, if we give leave to ſome Egyptian or other, who ſhall think his injuries inſufferable to free men, to kill him? As for myſelf, I will no longer bear your ſlow proceedings, but will expoſe myſelf to the dangers of the enterpriſe this very day, and bear cheerfully whatſoever ſhall be the conſequence of the attempt; nor, let them be ever ſo great, will I put them off any longer; for to a wiſe and courageous man what can be more miſerable than that, while I am alive, any one elſe ſhould kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of ſo virtuous an action."

13. When Cherea had ſpoken thus, he zealouſly ſet about the work, and inſpired courage into the reſt to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without farther delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equeſtrian ſword girt on him; for it was the cuſtom that the tribunes ſhould aſk for the watch-word with their ſwords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was by cuſtom, to receive the watch-word; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be ſoon enough for ſeeing the ſhews, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuouſly cruſhing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerneſs of the multitude; for which reaſon there was no order obſerved in the ſeating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the ſenators, or for the equeſtrian order; but they ſat at random, men and women together, and free men were mixed with the ſlaves. So Caius came out in a ſolemn manner, and offered ſacrifice to Auguſtus Cæſar, in whoſe honour indeed theſe ſhews were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain prieſt, that the garment of Aſprenas, a ſenator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, although this was an evident omen to Aſprenas, for he was ſlain at the ſame time with Caius. It is alſo related, that Caius was that day, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, ſo very affable and good-natured in his converſation, that every one of thoſe that were preſent were aſtoniſhed at it. After the ſacrifice was over, Caius betook himſelf to ſee the ſhews, and ſat down for that purpoſe, as did alſo the principal of his friends ſit near him. Now the parts of the theatre we ſo faſtened together, as it uſed to be every year, in the manner following: It had two doors, the one door led to the open air, the other was for going into, or going out of the cloiſters, that thoſe within the theatre might not be thereby diſturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward paſſage, partly into partitions alſo, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants, and to the muſicians to go out as occaſion ſerved. When the multitude were ſet down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes alſo, were ſet down alſo, and the right corner of the theatre was allotted to Cæſar, one Vatinius, a ſenator, commander of the pretorian band, aſked of Cluvius, one that ſat by him, and was of conſular dignity alſo, "Whether he

had heard any thing of news or not?" But took care that no body ſhould hear what he ſaid; and when Cluvius replied, That "he had heard no news." "Know then," ſaid Vatinius, "That the game of the ſlaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied, O brave comrade hold thy peace, leſt ſome other of the Achaians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the ſpectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to ſuch as poſſeſſed them, on account of their rareneſs, Caius was pleaſed with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the ſpectators ſeized upon them; and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there; for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cinyras, wherein he himſelf was to be ſlain, as well as his daughter Myrrah, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was ſhed, both about him that was crucified, and alſo about Cinyras. It is alſo confeſſed, that this was the ſame day wherein Pauſanias, a friend of Philip, the ſon of Amyntas who was king of Macedonia, ſlew him, as he was entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in a doubt whether he ſhould tarry to the end of the ſhews, becauſe it was the laſt day or whether he ſhould not go firſt to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and ſit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who ſat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity ſhould fail them, got up, becauſe he ſaw Cherea was already gone out, and made haſte out, to confirm him in his reſolution; but Caius took hold of his garment, in an obliging way, and ſaid to him, "O brave man whether art thou going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to Cæſar, as it ſeemed, he ſat down again; but his fear prevailed over him, and in a little time he got up again, and then Caius did no way oppoſe his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform ſome neceſſities of nature. And Aſprenas, who was one of the confederates, perſuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again, as deſirous that what had been reſolved on might be brought to a concluſion immediately.

14. So Cherea's aſſociates placed themſelves in order, as the time would permit them, and they were obliged to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them ſhould not be left by them; but they had an indignation at the tedioulneſs of the delays, and that what they were about ſhould be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth * hour of the day; and Cherea, upon Caius's tarrying ſo long, had a great mind to go in and fall upon him in his ſeat, although he foreſaw that this could not be done without much bloodſhed, both of the ſenators, and of thoſe of the equeſtrian order that were preſent;

* Suetonius ſays Caius was ſlain about the ſeventh hour of the day, Joſephus about the ninth. The ſeries of the narration favours Joſephus.

and although he knew this muſt happen, yet had he a great mind to do ſo, as thinking it a right thing to procure ſecurity and freedom to all, at the expence of ſuch as might periſh at the ſame time. And as they were juſt going back into the entrance to the theatre, word was brought them that Caius was ariſen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conſpirators thurſt away the crowd, under pretence as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as deſirous to have a quiet place, that ſhould have none in it to defend him. while they ſet about Caius's ſlaughter. Now Claudius his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vinitius, his ſiſter's huſband, as alſo Valerius of Aſia; whom tho' they had had ſuch a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them ſo to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius: And becauſe Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which thoſe his ſervants ſtood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before, Caius turned aſide into a private narrow paſſage, in order to go to the place for bathing as alſo in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Aſia, who were ſent thence, partly to ſing hymns in theſe myſteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the pyrric way of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and aſked him for the watch-word; upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his ſword, and gave him a terrible ſtroke with it, yet was not this ſtroke mortal. And although there be thoſe that ſay, it was ſo contrived on purpoſe by Cherea, that Caius ſhould not be killed at one blow, but ſhould be puniſhed more ſeverely by a multitude of wounds, yet does this ſtory appear to me incredible; becauſe the fear men are under in ſuch actions does not allow them to uſe their reaſon. And if Cherea was of that mind, I eſteem him the greateſt of all fools, in pleaſing himſelf in his ſpite againſt Caius, rather than immediately procuring ſafety to himſelf and to his confederates from the dangers they were in; becauſe there might many things ſtill happen for helping Caius's eſcape. if he had not already given up the ghoſt; for certainly Cherea would have regard, not ſo much to the puniſhment of Caius, as to the affliction himſelf, and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after ſuch ſucceſs, to keep ſilent, and to eſcape the wrath of Caius's defenders, and not leave it to uncertainty whether he ſhould gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreaſonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himſelf, and loſe the opportunity that lay before him; but every body may gueſs as he pleaſes about this matter. However, Caius was ſtaggered with the pain that blow gave him; for the ſtroke of the ſword falling in the middle between the ſhoulder and the neck, was hindered by the firſt bone of the breaſt from proceeding any farther. Nor did he either cry out, in ſuch aſtoniſhment

was he nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwiſe diſordered, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and preſently went forward and fled; when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in mind ſo to do, thruſt him down upon his knee, where many of them ſtood round about him, and ſtruck him with their ſwords, and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to ſtrike him again; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finiſhing ſtroke, which directly killed him. But one may juſtly aſcribe this act to Cherea; for although many concurred in the act itſelf, yet was he the firſt contriver of it, and began long before all the reſt to prepare for it, and was the firſt man that boldly ſpake of it to the reſt; and upon their admiſſion of what he ſaid about it, he got the diſperſed conſpirators together; he prepared every thing after a prudent manner, and by ſuggeſting good advice, ſhewed himſelf far ſuperior to the reſt, and made obliging ſpeeches to them, inſomuch that he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwiſe had not courage enough for that purpoſe; and when opportunity ſerved to uſe his ſword in hand, he appeared firſt of all ready ſo to do, and gave the firſt blow in this virtuous ſlaughter; he alſo brought Caius eaſily into the power of the reſt, and almoſt killed him himſelf, inſomuch that it is but juſt to aſcribe all that the reſt did to the advice, and bravery, and labours of the hands of Cherea.

15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his aſſociates, upon Caius's ſlaughter, ſaw that it was impoſſible for them to ſave themſelves, if they ſhould all go the ſame way, partly on account of the aſtoniſhment they were under; for it was no ſmall danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honoured and loved by the madneſs of the people, eſpecially when the ſoldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers. The paſſages alſo were narrow wherein the work was done, which were alſo crowded with a great multitude of Caius's attendants, and of ſuch of the ſoldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day; whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the houſe of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed, (which houſe adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its ſeveral parts by thoſe particular perſons who had been emperors, and thoſe parts bare the names of thoſe that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of its parts;) So they got away from the inſults of the multitude, and then were for the preſent out of danger, that is ſo long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the firſt that perceived that Caius was ſlain. Theſe Germans were Caius's guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were

choſen, and compoſed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally paſſionate, which is commonly the temper of ſome other of the barbarous nations alſo, as being not uſed to conſider much about what they do; they are of robuſt bodies and fall upon their enemies as ſoon as ever they are attacked by them, and which way ſoever they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, theſe German guards underſtood that Caius was ſlain, they were very ſorry for it, becauſe they did not uſe their reaſon in judging about public affairs, but meaſured all by the advantages themſelves received, Caius being beloved by them, becauſe of the money he gave them, by which he had purchaſed their kindneſs to him: So they drew their ſwords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had obtained that poſt in the army by his having a robuſt body. So theſe Germans marched along the houſes in queſt of Cæſar's murderers, and cut Aſprenas to pieces, becauſe he was the firſt man they fell upon, and whoſe garment it was that the blood of the ſacrifices ſtained, as I have ſaid already, and which foretold that this his meeting the ſoldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of the city, and could ſhew many generals of armies among his anceſtors; but they paid no regard to his dignity; yet was he of ſuch great ſtrength, that he wreſted the ſword of the firſt of thoſe that aſſaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a ſtruggle for his life, until he was ſurrounded by a great number of aſſailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius a ſenator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with theſe Germans by chance, as the reſt did before, but came to ſhew his hatred to Caius, and becauſe he loved to ſee Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleaſure in that ſight; for Caius had baniſhed Anteius's father, who was of the ſame name with himſelf and being not ſatisfied with that, he ſent out his ſoldiers, and ſlew him; ſo he was come to rejoice at the ſight of him, now he was dead. But as the houſe was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himſelf, he could not eſcape that accurate ſearch which the Germans made, while they barbarouſly ſlew thoſe that were guilty, and thoſe that were not guilty, and this equally alſo. And thus were theſe [three] perſons ſlain.

16. But when the rumour that Caius was ſlain reached the theatre, they were aſtoniſhed at it, and could not believe it: Even ſome that entertained his deſtruction with great pleaſure, and were more deſirous of its happening than almoſt any other ſatisfaction that could come to them, were under ſuch a fear, that they could not believe it. There were thoſe alſo who greatly diſtruſted it, becauſe they were unwilling that any ſuch

thing ſhould come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever ſo true, becauſe they thought no man could poſſibly have ſo much power as to kill Caius. Theſe were the women, and the children, and the ſlaves, and ſome of the ſoldiery. This laſt ſort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abuſed the beſt of the citizens, in being ſubſervient to his unjuſt commands, in order to gain honours and advantages to themſelves; but for the women, and the youth, they had been inveigled with ſhews, and the fightings of the gladiators, and certain diſtributions of fleſh-meat among them, which things in pretence were deſigned for the pleaſing of the multitude, but in reality to ſatiate the barbarous cruelty and madneſs of Caius. The ſlaves alſo were ſorry, becauſe they were by Caius allowed to accuſe, and to diſperſe their maſters, and they could have recourſe to his aſſiſtance, when they had unjuſtly affronted them; for he was very eaſy in believing them againſt their maſters, even when they accuſed them falſely; and if they would diſcover what money their maſters had, they might ſoon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accuſations, becauſe the reward of theſe informers was the eighth * part of the criminal's ſubſtance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to ſome of them, either becauſe they knew of the plot beforehand, or becauſe they wiſhed it might be true; however they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard any thing at all about it. Theſe laſt acted ſo out of the fear they had, that if the report proved falſe they ſhould be puniſhed, for having ſo ſoon let men know their minds. But thoſe that knew Caius was dead, becauſe they were partners with the conſpirators, they concealed all ſtill more cautiouſly, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing leſt they ſhould ſpeak of it to ſome of thoſe to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous: And if Caius ſhould prove to be alive, they might be informed againſt and puniſhed. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but alive ſtill and under the phyſicians hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be truſted, and to whom any one would open his mind; for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore ſuſpected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be ſuſpected to deſerve the leſs credit, becauſe of his ill-will to him. Nay, it was ſaid by ſome, (and this indeed it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them ſad,) that Caius was in a condition to deſpiſe the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market place, and, bloody

* The rewards propoſed by the Roman laws to informers, was ſometimes an eighth part of the criminals goods, as here, and ſometimes a fourth part, as Spanheim aſſures us, from Suetonius and Tacitus.

as he was, was making a harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the hearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the supposals of the accusers, and of the judges.

17. But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theatre with their swords drawn; all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and at every one's coming in a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theatre, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, the theatre rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances, and that if there were any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears, and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives could dictate to them. This brake the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was, that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius, could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him; nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

18. There was at this time, one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterward. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else, his fear and his wife cantrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleas-

ure; ſo he put on ſuch a mournful dreſs as he would have done had he loſt his deareſt friends in the world; this man came into the theatre, and informed them of the death of Caius, by this means put an end to that ſtate of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius alſo went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their ſwords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation it was plainly which ſaved thoſe that were collected together in the theatre, and all the reſt who any way met the Germans; for while they had hopes that Caius had ſtill any breath in him, they abſtained from no ſort of miſchief; and ſuch an abundant kindneſs they ſtill had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot againſt him. and procured his eſcape from ſo ſad a misfortune, at the expence of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to puniſh his enemies, now they were fully ſatisfied that Caius was dead, becauſe it was now in vain for them to ſhew their zeal and kindneſs to him, when he that ſhould reward them was periſhed. They were alſo afraid that they ſhould be puniſhed by the ſenate, if they ſhould go on in doing ſuch injuries, that is, in caſe the authority of the ſupreme governor ſhould revert to them. And thus at length a ſtop was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage which poſſeſſed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

19. But Cherea was ſo much afraid for Minucianus, leſt he ſhould light upon the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and ſpake to every one of the ſoldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preſervation, and made himſelf great inquiry about him, leſt he ſhould have been ſlain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him, and, with many other of the ſenators, affirmed the action was right, and commended the virtue of thoſe that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it; and ſaid, that "tyrants do indeed pleaſe themſelves and look big for a while, upon having the power to act unjuſtly; but do not however go happily out of the world, becauſe they are hated by the virtuous; and that Caius, together with all his unhappineſs, was become a conſpirator againſt himſelf, before theſe other men who attacked him did ſo, and by becoming intolerable, in ſetting aſide the wiſe proviſion the laws had made, taught his deareſt friends to treat him as an enemy; inſomuch, that although in common diſcourſe theſe conſpirators were thoſe that ſlew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lies now dead as periſhing by his own ſelf."

20. Now by this time the theatre were ariſen from their ſeats, and thoſe that were within made a very great diſturbance; the cauſe of which was this, that the ſpectators were too haſty in getting away There was alſo one Alcyon, a phyſician. who hurried away, as if to cure thoſe that were wounded. and under that pretence, he ſent thoſe that were with him to fetch what

things were neceſſary for the healing thoſe wounded perſons, but in reality to get them clear of the preſent dangers they were in. Now the ſenate, during this interval had met, and the people alſo aſſembled together in the accuſtomed form and were both employed in ſearching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealouſly, but the ſenate in appearance only: For there was preſent Valerius of Aſia, one that had been conſul; this man went to the people, as they were in diſorder, and very uneaſy that they could not diſcover who they were that murdered the emperor; he was then earneſtly aſked by them all, "Who it was that had done it?" He replied, I wiſh I had beed the man." The conſuls * alſo publiſhed an edict, wherein they accuſed Caius, and gave order to the people then got together, and to the ſoldiers to go home, and gave the people hopes of the abatement of the oppreſſions they lay under; and promiſed the ſoldiers, if they lay quiet as they uſed to do, and would not go abroad to do miſchief unjuſtly, that they would beſtow rewards upon them; for there was reaſon to fear leſt the city might ſuffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behaviour, if they ſhould once betake themſelves to ſpoil the citizens or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the ſenators were aſſembled together, and eſpecially thoſe that had conſpired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great aſſurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the adminiſtration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

CHAP. II.

How the Senators determined to reſtore the Democracy; but the ſoldeirs were for preſerving the Monarchy. Concerning the ſlaughter of Caius's wife and daughter. A character of Caius's morals.

§ 1. WHEN the public affairs were in this poſture, Claudius was on the ſudden hurried away out of his houſe: For the ſoldiers had a meeting together, and when they had debated about what was to be done, they ſaw that a democracy was incapable of managing ſuch a vaſt weight of public affairs; and that if it ſhould be ſet up, it would not be for their advantage; and in caſe any one of thoſe already in the government ſhould obtain the ſupreme power, it would in all reſpects be to their grief, they were not aſſiſting to him in that advancement: That it would therefore be right for them while the public affairs were unſettled, to chooſe Claudius emperor, who

* Theſe conſuls are named in the War of the Jews, B. II. ch. xi. ſect. 1. Vol. III. Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus; as Spanheim notes here. The ſpeech of the former of them is ſet down in the next chapter, ſect. 2.

was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired in his education, and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneas Sentius Saturninus, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, made an exhortatory orarion to them, and such an one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spake thus.

2. "Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans, because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is; yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable to ourselves, in our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone; but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those, that were born and brought up in that our former liberty, happy men, and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves who have given us a taste of it in this age; and I heartily wish, that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue to all ages. However, this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration: It may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves our business is, during the space of time, to live virtuously, than which nothing can be more to our advantage; which course of virtue it is alone than can preserve our liberty; for, as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relations of others, but as to our late state, during my life-time, I have known it by experience, and learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humour of those that govern. For since Julius Cæsar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy,

and, by overbearing the regular ſyſtem of our laws, to bring diſorders into our adminiſtration, and to get above right and juſtice, and to be a ſlave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of miſery but what hath tended to the ſubverſion of this city; while all thoſe that have ſucceeded him have ſtriven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it deſtitute of ſuch citizens as were of generous principles; becauſe they thought it tended to their ſafety to have vicious men to converſe withal, and not only to break the ſpirits of thoſe that were beſt eſteemed for their virtue, but to reſolve upon their utter deſtruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who laid upon us inſufferable hardſhips during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been ſlain to day, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the reſt, not only by exerciſing his ungoverned rage upon his fellow citizens, but alſo upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon all others, and by inflicting ſtill greater miſeries upon them, as puniſhments, which they never deſerved, he being equally furious againſt men, and againſt the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their ſweet pleaſure, and this by acting injuriouſly, and in the vexation they bring both upon men's eſtates, and their wives; but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can thoſe that patiently endure what miſeries they bring on them, gain their friendſhip; for as they are conſcious of the abundant miſchiefs they have brought on theſe men, and how magnanimouſly they have borne their hard fortunes, they cannot but be ſenſible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on ſecurity from what they are ſuſpicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since then we are now gotten clear of ſuch great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another (which form of government affords us the beſt aſſurance of our preſent concord, and promiſes us the beſt ſecurity from evil deſigns, and will be moſt for our own glory in ſettling the city in good order), you ought, every one of you in particular, to make proviſion for his own, and, in general, for the public utility; or, on the contrary, they may declare their diſſent to ſuch things as have been propoſed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them; becauſe they have now no lord ſet over them, who, without fear of puniſhment, could do miſchief to the city, and had an uncontroulable power to take off thoſe that freely declared their opinions. Nor has any thing ſo much contributed to this increaſe of tyranny of late as ſloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will; while men had an over-great inclination to the ſweetneſs of peace, and had learned to live like ſlaves, and as many of us as either heard

of intolerable calamities that happened at a diſtance from us, or ſaw the miſeries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuouſly, endured a death joined with the utmoſt infamy. We ought then, in the firſt place, to decree the greateſt honours we are able to thoſe that have taken off the tyrant, eſpecially to Cherea Caſſius; for this one man, with the aſſiſtance of the gods, hath, by his counſel, and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counſel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himſelf for our liberties; but ought to decree him proper honours, and thereby freely declare, that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes freemen, to requite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all though not at all like Caſſius and Brutus, who ſlew Caius Julius [Cæſar]; for thoſe men laid the foundations of ſedition and civil wars in our city, but this man, together with his ſlaughter of the tyrant, hath ſet our city free from all thoſe ſad miſeries which aroſe from the tyranny.*"

3 And this was the purport of Sentius's oration which was received with plea ure by the ſenators, and by as many of the equeſtrian order as were preſent. And now one Trebellius Maximus roſe up haſtily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a ſtone, with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal in ſpeaking, and his earneſtneſs in doing what he was about as it was ſuppoſed, he had forgotten to take off himſelf. This ſculpture was broken immediately. But as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the conſuls the watch-word, who gave him the word. *Liberty*. Theſe facts were the ſubjects of admiration to themſelves, and almoſt incredible; for it was an hundred years † ſince the democracy had been laid aſide, when this giving the watch-word returned to the conſuls; for, before the city was ſubject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the ſoldiers. But, when Cherea had received that watch-word, he delivered it to thoſe who were on the ſenate's ſide, which were four regiments, who eſteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So theſe went away with their tribunes. The people alſo now departed very joyful, full of hope and of courage, as having recovered their former de-

* In this oration of Sentius Saturninus, we may ſee the great value virtuous men put upon public liberty, and the ſad miſery they underwent, while they were tyrannized over by ſuch emperors as Caius. See Joſephus's own ſhort but pithy reflection at the end of the chapter: "So difficult," ſays he, "it is for thoſe to obtain the virtue that is neceſſary to a wiſe man, who have the abſolute power to do what they pleaſe, without controul."

† Hence we learn that, in the opinion of Saturninus, the ſovereign authority of the conſuls and ſenate had been taken away juſt 100 years before the death of Caius, A. D 41, or on the 60th year before the Chriſtian æra, when the firſt triumvirate began under Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus.

mocracy, and were no longer under an emperor; and Cherea was in a very great eſteem with them.

4. And now Cherea was very uneaſy that Caius's daughter and wife were ſtill alive, and that all his family did not periſh with him, ſince whoſoever was left of them muſt be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover in order to finiſh this matter with the utmoſt zeal, and in order to ſatisfy his hatred of Caius he ſent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They propoſed this office to Lupus as to a kinſman of Clement, that he might be ſo far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having aſſiſted his fellow citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with thoſe that were firſt in their deſigns againſt him. Yet did this action appear to ſome of the conſpirators to be too cruel, as to this uſing ſuch ſeverity to a woman, becauſe Caius did more indulge his own ill nature, than uſe her advice in all that he did; from which ill-nature it was that the city was in ſo deſperate a condition with the miſeries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was deſtroyed. But others accuſed her of giving her conſent to theſe things; nay, they aſcribed all that Caius had done to her as the cauſe of it, and ſaid, ſhe had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by ſuch evil methods; inſomuch that ſhe, having rendered him diſtracted, was become the author of all the miſchiefs had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was ſubject to them. So that at length it was determined, that ſhe muſt die; nor could thoſe of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her ſaved; and Lupus was ſent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about but he was ſubſervient to thoſe that ſent him on the firſt opportunity, as deſirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So, when he was come into the palace, he found Ceſonia, who was Caius's wife lying by her huſband's dead body, which alſo lay down on the ground, and deſtitute of all ſuch things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herſelf beſmeared with the blood of her huſband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction ſhe was under, her daughter lying by her alſo: And nothing elſe was heard in theſe her circumſtances, but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what ſhe had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different ſenſe even at that time, and are now eſteemed equally ambiguous by thoſe that hear of them, and are ſtill interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Nor ſome ſaid that the words denoted, that ſhe had adviſed him to leave off his mad behaviour and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, leaſt he ſhould periſh by the ſame way, upon their uſing him as he had uſed them. But ſome ſaid, that,

as certain words had paſſed concerning the conſpirators, ſhe deſired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and that this was what ſhe reproached him for, when ſhe adviſed him ſo to do, but he was too ſlow and tender in the matter. And this was what Ceſonia ſaid, and what the opinions of men were about it. But, when ſhe ſaw Lupus approach, ſhe ſhewed him Caius's dead body, and perſuaded him to come nearer, with lamentation and tears, and as ſhe perceived that Lupus was in diſorder, and approached her in order to execute ſome deſign diſagreeable to himſelf, ſhe was well aware for what purpoſe he came, and ſtretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her caſe, like one utterly deſpaired of her life, and bidding him not to boggle at finiſhing the tragedy they had reſolved upon relating to her. So ſhe boldly received her death's wound at the hand of Lupus as did the daughter after her. So Lupus made haſte to inform Cherea of what he had done.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years, within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill natured and one that had arrived at the utmoſt pitch of wickedneſs; a ſlave to his pleaſures, and a lover of calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a very murderous diſpoſition, where he durſt ſhew it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpoſe, to injure thoſe who leaſt deſerved it, with unreaſonable inſolence, and got his wealth by murder and injuſtice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a ſlave to the commendations of the populace; and whatſoever the laws determined to be ſhameful, and puniſhed, that he eſteemed more honourable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate ſoever, and though they were perſons of the higheſt character; and, if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict puniſhment upon them on the ſmalleſt occaſions, and eſteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatſoever he commanded, he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations; whence it was that he had criminal converſation with his own ſiſter *; from which occaſion chiefly it was alſo, that a bitter hatred firſt ſprang up againſt him among the citizens, that ſort of inceſt not having been known of a long time; and ſo this provoked men to diſtruſt him, and to hate him that was guilty

* Spanheim here notes from *Suetonius*, that the name of Caius's ſiſter, with whom he was guilty of inceſt, was *Druſilla*; and that *Suetonius* adds, he was guilty of the ſame crime with all his ſiſters alſo. He notes farther, that *Suetonius* omits the mention of the haven for ſhips, which our author eſteems the only public work for the good of the preſent and future ages which Caius left behind him, though in an imperfect condition.

of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the preſent and for future ages, nobody can name any ſuch, but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily for reception of the ſhips that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed a work without diſpute, very great in itſelf, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one half of it left imperfect, by reaſon of his want of application to it; the cauſe of which was this, that he employed his ſtudies about uſeleſs matters, and that by ſpending his money upon ſuch pleaſures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great conſequence. Otherwiſe he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was alſo able off-hand and readily to give anſwers to compoſitions made by others, of conſiderable length and accuracy. He was alſo more ſkilful in perſuading others to very great things than any one elſe, and this from a natural affability of temper which had been improved by much exerciſe and pains-taking: For as he was the grandſon * of the brother of Tiberius, whoſe ſucceſſor he was, this was a ſtrong inducement to his acquiring of learning, becauſe Tiberius aſpired after the higheſt pitch of that ſort of reputation; and Caius aſpired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinſman and his emperor. He was alſo among the firſt rank of his citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not countervail the miſchief he brought upon himſelf in the exerciſe of his authority; ſo difficult it is for thoſe to obtain the virtue that is neceſſary for a wiſe man, who have the abſolute power to do what they pleaſe, without controul. At the firſt he got himſelf ſuch friends as were in all reſpects the moſt worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their zealous application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the beſt men; but when he became inſolent towards them, they laid aſide the kindneſs they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot, which they raiſed againſt him, and wherein he periſhed.

CHAP. III.

How Claudius was ſeized upon, and brought out of his Houſe, and brought to the Camp, and how the Senate ſent an Embaſſage to him.

§ 1. NOW Claudius, as I ſaid above, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and, as the

* This Caius was the ſon of that excellent perſon Germanicus, who was the ſon of Druſus, the brother of Tiberius the emperor.

family was in a mighty disorder upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place *, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for while he was a private man he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called *pretorian*, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public: All which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him, and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus †; come on, let us choose him for our emperor." But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand and said, "Leave off Sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire which the gods, out of their concern for the habita-

* This first place Claudius came to was inhabited, and called *Hermæum*, as Spanheim here informs us from Suetonius in Claud. ch. x.

† How Claudius, another son of Drusus which Drusus was the father of Germanicus, could be here himself called *Germanicus*, Suetonius informs us, when he assures us that, by a decree of the senate, the surname of *Germanicus* was bestowed on Drusus, and his posterity also. In Claud. ch. i.

ble world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy anceſtors." So they took him up and carried him, becauſe he was not then able to go on foot, ſuch was his dread and his joy at what was told him.

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when they ſaw Claudius carried off, they looked with a ſad countenance, as ſuppoſing that he was carried to execution for the miſchiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and ſome of them thought it reaſonable, that the conſuls ſhould take cognizance of theſe matters; and, as ſtill more and more of the ſoldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then ſo weak; and thoſe who carried his ſedan, upon an enquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and ſaved themſelves, as deſpairing of their lord's preſervation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, (which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited firſt of all the parts of the city of Rome), and had juſt reached the public treaſury, many more ſoldiers came about him as glad to ſee Claudius's face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindneſs for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vaſt reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected alſo on the covetous temper of the leading men of the ſenate, and what great errors they had been guilty of, when the ſenate had the government formerly; they alſo conſidered the impoſſibility of ſuch an undertaking, as alſo what dangers they ſhould be in, if the government ſhould come to a ſingle perſon, and that ſuch an one ſhould poſſeſs it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will to him, and would remember the favours they had done him, and would make them a ſufficient recompence for the ſame.

3. Theſe were the diſcourſes the ſoldiers had one with another by themſelves, and they communicated them to all ſuch as came into them. Now thoſe that inquired about this matter, willingly embraced the invitation that was made them to join with the reſt: So they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompaſſing him about, one chairman ſtill ſucceeding another, that their vehement endeavours might not be hindered. But as to the populace and the ſenators, they diſagreed in their opinions. The latter were very deſirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the ſlavery that had been brought on them injurious treatments of the tyrants, which the preſent opportunity afforded them; but for the people who were

envious againſt them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, they were very glad that Claudius had been ſeized upon, and brought to them, and thought, that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war ſuch as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the ſenate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the ſoldiers, they ſent to him thoſe of their body which had the beſt character for their virtues, that they might inform him, "that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government; that he who was a ſingle perſon, one either already, or hereafter to be a member of their body, ought to yield to the ſenate, which conſiſted of ſo great a number: That he ought to let the law take place in the diſpoſal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city; and what dangers both he and they had eſcaped under Caius; and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himſelf wilfully treat his country after a mad and inſolent manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonſtrate that his firm reſolution, was to live quietly and virtuouſly, he would have the greateſt honours decreed to him, that a free people could beſtow, and by ſubjecting himſelf to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a ſubject; but that if he would act fooliſhly, and learn no wiſdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of ſlaves, which they could make uſe of: That good hope was a great matter in ſuch caſes, as was alſo good fortune, and that the gods would never aſſiſt any others but thoſe that undertook to act with virtue and goodneſs, who can be no other than ſuch as fight for the liberty of their country."

4. Now theſe ambaſſadors, Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this ſpeech to Claudius, and, falling down upon their knees, they begged of him, that he would by no means throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they ſaw what a multitude of ſoldiers encompaſſed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the conſuls were, in compariſon of them, perfectly inconſiderable, they added, That, "if he did deſire the government, he ſhould accept of it as given by the ſenate; that he would proſper better, and be happier, if he came to it, not by injuſtice, but by the good will of thoſe that would beſtow it upon him."

CHAP. IV.

What things King Agrippa did for Claudius; and how Claudius, when he had taken the government, commanded the Murderers of Caius to be ſlain.

§ 1. NOW Claudius, though he was ſenſible after what an inſolent manner the ſenate had ſent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himſelf for the preſent with moderation; but not ſo far that he could not recover himſelf out of his fright: So he was encouraged [to claim the government] partly by the boldneſs of the ſoldiers, and partly by the perſuaſion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let ſuch a dominion ſlip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now this Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been ſo much honoured by him; for he embraced Caius's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them that Caius was ſtill alive; but he ſaid that they ſhould call for phyſicians, ſince he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the ſoldiers, he ruſhed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in diſorder, and ready to reſign up the government to the ſenate, he encouraged him, and deſired him to keep the government; but when he had ſaid this to Claudius, he retired home. And upon the ſenate's ſending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately accompanied with his wife, and had diſmiſſed her, and then came to them: He alſo aſked of the ſenators what Claudius did; who told him the preſent ſtate of affairs, and then aſked his opinion about the ſettlement of the public. He told them in words, that he was ready to loſe his life for the honour of the ſenate, but deſired them to conſider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was moſt agreeable to them; for that thoſe who graſp at government, will ſtand in need of weapons, and ſoldiers to guard them, unleſs they will ſet up without any preparation for it, and ſo fall into danger. And when the ſenate replied, That "they would bring in weapons in abundance, and money, and that as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them, and they would raiſe a larger one by giving the ſlaves their liberty." Agrippa made anſwer, "O ſenators! may you be able to compaſs what you have a mind to; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, becauſe they tend to your preſervation: Take notice then, that the army which will fight for Claudius hath been long exerciſed in warlike affairs; but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men, and thoſe ſuch as have been unexpectedly made free from ſlavery, and ungovernable; we muſt then fight

againſt thoſe that are ſkillful in war, with men who know not ſo much as how to draw their ſwords. So that my opinion is, that we ſhould ſend ſome perſons to Claudius; to perſuade him to lay down the government, and I am ready to be one of your ambaſſadors."

2. Upon this ſpeech of Agrippa the ſenate complied with him, and he was ſent among others, and privately informed Claudius of the diſorder the ſenate was in, and gave inſtructions to anſwer them in a ſomewhat commanding ſtrain, and as one inveſted with dignity and authority. Accordingly Claudius ſaid to the ambaſſadors, That "he did not wonder the ſenate had no mind to have an emperor over them, becauſe they had been harraſſed by the barbarity of thoſe that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they ſhould taſte of an equitable government under him, and moderate times, while he ſhould only be their ruler in name, but the authority ſhould be equally common to them all; and ſince he had paſſed through many and various ſcenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to diſtruſt him." So the ambaſſadors, upon their hearing this his anſwer, were diſmiſſed. But Claudius diſcourſed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would perſiſt in their fidelity to him; upon which he gave the guards every man five thouſand * drachmæ a piece, and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promiſed to give the ſame to the reſt of the armies whereſoever they were.

3. And now the conſuls called the ſenate together into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror while it was ſtill night; but ſome of thoſe ſenators concealed themſelves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this ſummons, and ſome of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreſeeing whither the public affairs were going, and deſpairing of liberty; nay, theſe ſuppoſed it much better for them to be ſlaves without danger to themſelves, and to live a lazy and unactive life, than, by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own ſafety. However, an hundred and no more were gotten together; and as they were in conſultation about the preſent poſture of affairs, a ſudden clamour was made by the ſoldiers that were on their ſide, "Deſiring that the ſenate would chooſe them an emperor, and not bring the government into ruin by ſetting up a multitude of rulers." So they fully declared themſelves to be for the giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the ſenate leave to look out for a perſon worthy to be ſet over them, in-

* This number of drachmæ to be diſtributed to each private ſoldier, 5000 drachmæ equal to 20,000 ſeſterces, or L. 161 Sterling, ſeems much too large, and directly contradicts Suetonius, chap. x. who makes them in all but 15 ſeſterces, or 2s. 4d. Yet might Joſephus have this number from Agrippa junior, though I doubt the thouſands, or at leaſt the hundreds have been added by the tranſcribers, of which we have had ſeveral examples already in Joſephus,

ſomuch, that now the affairs of the ſenate were much worſe than before; becauſe they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boaſted themſelves of, but were in dread of Claudius alſo. Yet were there thoſe that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accruing to them by their marriages; for Marcus Minucianus was illuſtrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the ſiſter of Caius, who accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the conſuls diſcouraged him, and made one delay after another in propoſing it: That Minucianus alſo, who was one of Caius's murderers, reſtrained Valerius of Aſia from thinking of ſuch things; and a prodigious ſlaughter there had been, if leave had been given to theſe men to ſet up for themſelves, and oppoſe Claudius. There were alſo a conſiderable number of gladiators beſides, and of thoſe ſoldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ſhips, who all ran unto the camp; inſomuch that of thoſe who put in for the government, ſome left off their pretenſions in order to ſpare the city, and others out of fear for their own perſons.

4. But as ſoon as ever it was day, Cherea, and thoſe that were with him came into the ſenate, and attempted to make ſpeeches to the ſoldiers. However, the multitude of thoſe ſoldiers, when they ſaw that they were making ſignals for ſilence with their hands, and were ready to begin to ſpeak to them grew tumultuous, and would not let them ſpeak at all, becauſe they were all zealous to be under a monarchy; and they demanded of the ſenate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays: But the ſenate heſitated about either their own governing or how they ſhould themſelves be governed, while the ſoldiers would not admit them to govern, and the murderers of Caius would not permit the ſoldiers to dictate to them. When they were in theſe circumſtances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had, and promiſed, that if they deſired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watch-word from Eutychus. Now this Eutychus was charioteer of the green-band faction, ſtyled Praſine, and a great friend of Caius, who uſed to harraſs the ſoldiery with building ſtables for the horſes, and ſpent his time in ignominious labours, which occaſioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuſe them with much other ſcurrilous language; and told them, "he would bring them the head of Claudius; and that it was an amazing thing that after their former madneſs, they ſhould commit their government to a fool." Yet were not they moved with his words, but drew their ſwords, and took up their enſigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the ſenate were left without any body to defend them, and the very conſuls differed nothing from private perſons. They were alſo under conſternation and ſorrow, men not knowing

what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell a reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates, [about the senate;] but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius; and the other consul, Quintus Pomponius, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nay some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Aponius went away wounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Polio, whom Claudius a little before had made captain of his guards, and sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said, that the work he had done was a glorious one, but they accused him that he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to his execution, and Lupus, and many other Romans with him, now it is reported, that Cherea bore this calamity courageously, and this, not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus laid his garment aside and complained of the cold*, he said, that cold was never hurtful to Lupus, [i. e. a wolf.] And

* This piercing cold here complained of by Lupus, agrees well to the time of

as a great many men went along with them to ſee the fight, when Cherea came to the place, he aſked the ſoldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was uſed to? or whether this was the firſt time of his uſing his ſword in that manner, and deſired him to bring him that very ſword with which he himſelf ſlew Caius. So he was happily killed at one ſtroke. But Lupus did not meet with ſuch good fortune in going out of the world, ſince he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, becauſe he did not ſtretch it out boldly, [as he ought to have done.]

6. Now a few days after this, as the parental ſolemnities were juſt at hand, the Roman multitude made their uſual oblations to their ſeveral ghoſts, and put portions into the fire in honour of Cherea and beſought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger againſt them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinus although Claudius not only ſet him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjuſt in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow confederates; ſo he fell upon his ſword, and killed himſelf, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the ſword.*

CHAP. V.

How Claudius reſtored to Agrippa his grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his dominions: And how he publiſhed an edict in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. NOW when Claudius had taken out of the way all thoſe ſoldiers whom he ſuſpected, which he did immediately, he publiſhed an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa, which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He alſo made an addition to it, of all that county over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is Judea and Samaria; and this he re-

the year when Claudius began his reign; it being for certain about the months of November, December, or January, and moſt probably a few days after Jan. 24th, and a few days before the Roman Parentalia

* It is both here and elſewhere very remarkable, that the murderers of the vileſt tyrants who yet highly deſerved to die, when thoſe murderers were under oaths, or other the like obligations of fidelity to them, were uſually revenged, and the murderers were cut off themſelves, and that after a remarkable manner; and this ſometimes, as in the preſent caſe, by thoſe very perſons who were not ſorry for ſuch murders, but got kingdoms by them. The examples are very numerous both in ſacred and profane hiſtories, and ſeem generally indications of divine vengeance on ſuch murderers. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that ſuch murderers of tyrants do it uſually on ſuch ill principles, in ſuch a cruel manner, and as ready to involve the innocent with the guilty, which was the caſe here, chap. i. ſect. 14 and chap. ii. ſect. 4. as juſtly deſerved the divine vengeance upon them. Which ſeems to

ſtored to him as due to his family. But for Abila * of Lyſanias, and all that lay at mount Libanus, he beſtowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He alſo made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome: he alſo took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was poſſeſſed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena; He alſo ſet Alexander Lyſimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and ſteward to his mother Antonia, but had been impriſoned by Caius, whoſe ſon [Marcus] married Barnice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's ſon, was dead, who had married her when ſhe was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. Now about this time there was a ſedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria; for when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great diſtreſs by the people of Alexandria, recovered itſelf, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themſelves. So Claudius ſent an order to the preſident of Egypt, to quiet that tumult: He alſo ſent an edict, at the requeſts of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whoſe contents were as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæſar, Auguſtus, Germanicus, high-prieſt, and tribune of the people, ordains thus. Since I am aſſured that the Jews of Alexandria, called *Alexandrians*, have been joint inhabitants in the earlieſt times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their poſſeſſion, and the edicts themſelves; and that after Alexandria had been ſubjected to our empire by Auguſtus, their rights and privileges have been preſerved by thoſe preſidents who have at divers times been ſent thither; and that no diſpute had been raiſed about thoſe rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Al-

have been the caſe of Jehu alſo, when, beſides the houſe of Ahab, for whoſe ſlaughter he had a commiſſion from God, without any ſuch commiſſion, any juſtice or commiſeration, he killed Ahab's great men, and acquaintance, and prieſts, and forty-two of the kindred of Ahaziah, 2 Kings x. 11—14. See Hoſ. i. 4. I do not mean here to condemn Ehud or Judith, or the like executioners of God's vengeance on thoſe wicked tyrants who had unjuſtly oppreſſed God's own people under their theocracy; who, as they appear ſtill to have had no ſelfiſh deſigns nor intentions to ſlay the innocent, ſo had they ſtill a divine commiſſion, or a divine impulſe, which was their commiſſion for what they did, Judg. iii. 15, 19, 22. Judith ix. 2. Teſt. Levi ſect. 5. in Authent. Rec. p. 312. See alſo page 432.

* Here St. Luke is in ſome meaſure confirmed, when he informs us, chap. iii. 1. that Lyſanias was ſome time before tetrarch of Abilene, whoſe capital was Abila; as he is farther confirmed by Ptolomy, the great geographer, which Spanheim here obſerves, when he calls that city *Abila of Lyſanias*. See the note on B. XVII. ch. xi. ſect. 4. Vol. II. and Prid. at the years 36. and 22. I eſteem this principality to have belonged to the land of Canaan originally, to have been the burying place of Abel, and referred to as ſuch, Matt. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 51. See Authent. Rec. Part II. p. 883—885.

exandria; and that when the Jewiſh ethnarch was dead, Auguſtus did not prohibit the making ſuch ethnarchs, as willing that all men ſhould be ſo ſubject [to the Romans] as to continue in the obſervation of their own cuſtoms, and not be forced to tranſgreſs the ancient rules of their own country-religion; but that in the time of Caius the Alexandrians became inſolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius out of his great madneſs, and want of underſtanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, becauſe they would not tranſgreſs the religious worſhip of their country, and call him a god. I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madneſs of Caius; but that thoſe rights and privileges, which they formerly enjoyed, be preſerved to them, and that they may continue in their own cuſtoms. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may ariſe after the promulgation of this edict."

3. And ſuch were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that was ſent to Alexandria. But the edict that was ſent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæſar, Auguſtus, Germanicus, high-prieſt, tribune of the people, choſen conſul the ſecond time, ordains thus. Upon the petition of king Agrippa, and king Herod, who are perſons very dear to me, that I would grant the ſame rights and privileges, ſhould be preſerved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to thoſe of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the ſake of the petitioners, but as judging thoſe Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of ſuch a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendſhip to the Romans. I think it alſo very juſt that no Grecian city ſhould be deprived of ſuch rights and privileges, ſince they were preſerved to them under the great Auguſtus. It will therefore be fit to permit the jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient cuſtoms without being hindered ſo to do. And I do charge them alſo to uſe this my kindneſs to them with moderation, and not to ſhew a contempt of the ſuperſtitions obſervances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magiſtrates of the cities and colonies, and municipal places, both thoſe within Italy, and thoſe without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambaſſadors, and to have them expoſed to the public for full thirty days, in ſuch a place *, whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

* This form was ſo known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr Hudſon here tells us, from the great Selden, that it uſed to be thus repreſented at the bottom of their edicts by the initial letters only, *U. D. P. R. L. P. Unde De Plano Recte Legi Poſſit.* "Whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

CHAP. VI.

What things were done by Agrippa at Jeruſalem, when he was returned back into Judea: And what it was that Petronius wrote to the inhabitants of Dora, in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. NOW Claudius Cæſar, by theſe decrees of his which was ſent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he ſoon ſent Agrippa away, to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illuſtrious dignity than before, and ſent letters to the preſidents and procurators of the provinces, that they ſhould treat him very kindly. Accordingly he returned in haſte, as was likely he would, now he returned in much greater proſperity than he had before. He alſo came to Jeruſalem, and offered all the ſacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing * which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites ſhould have their heads ſhorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treaſury †, that it might be a memorial of the ſevere fate he had lain under, and a teſtimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonſtration how the greateſt proſperity may have a fall, and that God ſometimes raiſes up what is fallen down: For this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a ſmall cauſe, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterward got out of his bonds and was advanced to be a more illuſtrious king than he was before. Whence men may underſtand, that all that partake of human nature, how great ſoever they are, may fall; and that thoſe that fall may gain their former illuſtrious dignity again.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finiſhed all the duties of the divine worſhip, he removed Theophilus, the ſon of Ananius from the high prieſthood, and beſtowed that honour on his Simon, the ſon of Boethus, whoſe name was alſo Cantheras, whoſe daughter king Herod had married, as I have related above. Simon, therefore had the [high] prieſthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the ſons

* Joſephus ſhews both here and ch. vii. ſect 3. that he had a much greater opinion of king Agrippa I than Simon the learned rabbi, than the people of Sefarea and Sebaſte, ch. vii. ſect. 4. and ch. ix. ſect. 1. and indeed than his double dealing between the ſenate and Claudius, chap. iv. ſect. 2. than his ſlaughter of James, the brother of John, and his impriſonment of Peter, or his vain glorious behaviour before he died, both in Acts xii. 1, 2, 3. and here, ch. iv. ſect. 1. will juſtify or allow. Joſephus's character was probably taken from his ſon Agrippa jun.

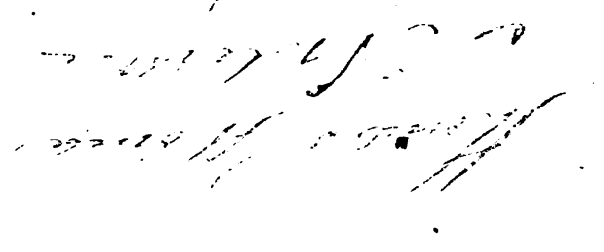
† This treaſury-chamber ſeems to have been the very ſame in which our Saviour taught, and where the people offered their charity-money for the repairs or other uſes of the temple. Mark xii. 41, &c. Luke xxi. 1. John viii. 20.

of Simon, the ſon of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.

3. When the king had ſettled the high-prieſthood after this manner, he returned the kindneſs which the inhabitants of Jeruſalem had ſhewed him; for he releaſed them from the tax upon houſes, every one of which paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affection of thoſe that loved him. He alſo made Silas the general of his forces, as a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while the young men of Doris, preferring a raſh attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and inſolent, carried a ſtatue of Cæſar into a ſynagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the diſſolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then preſident of Syria, and accuſed the people of Doris. Nor did he leſs reſent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to tranſgreſs the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris in an angry ſtrain: "Publius Petronius, the preſident under Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, to the magiſtrates of Doris, ordains as follows: Since ſome of you have had the boldneſs, or madneſs rather, after the edict of Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus was publiſhed, for permitting the Jews to obſerve the laws of their country, not to obey the ſame, but have acted in entire oppoſition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to aſſemble together in the ſynagogue, by removing Cæſar's ſtatue, and ſetting it up therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himſelf, whoſe ſtatue is more commodiouſly placed in his own temple, than in a foreign one, where is the place of aſſembling together; while it is but a part of natural juſtice, that every one ſhould have the power over the place belonging peculiarly to themſelves according to the determination of Cæſar; to ſay nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make uſe of their own cuſtoms, as alſo gives order, that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themſelves. I therefore ordain, that Proculus Vitelius the centurion bring thoſe men to me, who, contrary to Auguſtus's edict, have been ſo inſolent as to do this thing, at which thoſe very men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, have an indignation alſo, and allege for themſelves, that it was not done with their conſent, but by the violence of the multitude, that they might give an account of what hath been done. I alſo exhort the principal magiſtrates among them, unleſs they have a mind to have this action eſteemed to be one with their conſent, and to inform the centurion of thoſe that were guilty

of it, and take care that no handle be hence taken for raising a ſedition or quarrel among them; which thoſe ſeem to me to hunt after, who encourage ſuch doings; while both I myſelf, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the higheſt honour, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no occaſion given them of getting together under the pretence of avenging themſelves and become tumultuous. And that it may be more publicly known what Auguſtus hath reſolved about this whole matter, I have ſubjoined thoſe edicts which he hath lately cauſed to be publiſhed at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, yet did king Agrippa, for whom I have the higheſt honour, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of thoſe rights which Auguſtus hath granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come ſeek for any occaſion of ſedition or diſturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious cuſtoms."

4. Thus did Petronius take care of this matter, that ſuch a breach of the law might be corrected and that no ſuch thing might be attempted afterwards againſt the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the [high] prieſthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the ſon of Ananus, into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover that his former dignity. So he refuſed it, and ſaid, "O king I rejoice in the honour thou haſt for me and take it kindly, that thou wouldeſt give me ſuch a dignity of thy own inclinations, although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high prieſthood. I am ſatisfied with having once put on the ſacred garments; for I then put them on after a more holy manner, than I ſhould now receive them again. But if thou deſireſt, that a perſon more worthy than myſelf ſhould have this honourable employment, give me leave to name thee ſuch an one. I have a brother that is pure from all ſin againſt God, and of all offences againſt thyſelf; I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this dignity." So the king was pleaſed with theſe words of his, and paſſed by Jonathan, and according to his brother's deſire, beſtowed the high prieſthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus ſucceeded Petronius as preſident of Syria.



CHAP. VII.

Concerning Silas, and on what account it was that King Agrippa was angry at him. How Agrippa began to encompass Jerusalem with a Wall; and what benefits he bestowed on the Inhabitants of Berytus.

§ 1. NOW Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partaker with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most hazardous dangers for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had shewed to him. Accordingly, he would no where let the king sit as his superior, and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions; till he became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, extolling himself beyond measure, and of putting the king in mind of the severity he had undergone, that he might, by way of ostentation, demonstrate what zeal he had shewed in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him, and much enlarged still upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king, insomuch that he took the ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at his hands. For the commemoration of times, when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man, who is perpetually relating to a person what kindness he had done him. At last, therefore Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration, and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about this man, and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa was solemnizing his birth-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But, as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which he could not conceal from those that came for him, but said to them, "What honour is this the king invites me to, which I conclude will soon be over? For the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think, that I leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many misfortunes I

have delivered him from? how many labours I have undergone for him, whereby I procured him deliverance and reſpect? as a reward for which I have borne the hardſhips of bonds and a dark priſon. I ſhall never forget this uſage. Nay, perhaps, my very ſoul when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was the clamour he made, and he ordered the meſſengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived, that Silas was incurable in his folly, and ſtill ſuffered him to lie in priſon.

2. As for the walls of Jeruſalem, that were adjoining to the new city [Bezetha,] he repaired them at the expence of the public, and built them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude; and he had made them too ſtrong for all human power to demoliſh, unleſs Marcus, the then preſident of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Cæſar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had ſome ſuſpicion of attempts for innovation, he ſent to Agrippa to leave off the building of thoſe walls preſently. So he obeyed, as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

3. Now this king was by nature very beneficent, and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with ſuch large donations; and he made himſelf very illuſtrious by the many chargeable preſents he made them. He took delight in giving, and rejoicing in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was ill-natured, and ſevere in his puniſhments, and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived, that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign cities with large preſents in money; with building them baths and theatres beſides; nay, in ſome of thoſe places, he erected temples, and porticoes in others; but he did not vouchſafe to raiſe one of the leaſt edifices in any Jewiſh city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them ſenſible of his liberality. He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compaſſionate temper. Accordingly he loved to live continually at Jeruſalem, and was exactly careful in the obſervance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himſelf entirely pure; nor did any day paſs over his head without its appointed ſacrifice.

4. However, there was a certain man of the Jewiſh nation at Jeruſalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His name was *Simon*. This man got together an aſſembly, while the king was abſent at Cæſarea, and had the inſolence to accuſe him as not living holily, and that he might juſtly be excluded out of the temple, ſince it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him, that Simon had made ſuch a ſpeech to

the people. So the king sent for him; and, as he was sitting in the theatre, he bid him sit down by him, and said to him with a low and gentle voice, "What is there done in this place that is contrary to the law?" But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined, as esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

5. Now, as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus; for he erected a theatre for them, superior to many other of that sort, both in sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheatre, built at vast expences; and, besides these, he built them baths and porticoes, and spared for no costs in any of his edifices, to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows upon them, and brought thither musicians of all sorts, and such as made the most delightful music of the greatest variety. He also shewed his magnificence upon the theatre, in his great number of gladiators; and there it was that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men *; and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might recieve their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

CHAP. VIII.

What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death; and after what manner he Died.

§ 1. WHEN Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberius, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him Antiochus king of Commagena, Sampsigeramus king of Emesa, and Cotys who was king of the lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and so to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and so as to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings staid with him, Marcus the president of

* A strange number of condemned criminals to be under the sentence of death at once; no fewer, it seems, than 1400.

Syria came thither. So the king in order to preserve that respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot, those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without farther delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became his enemy. And now he took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead.

2. Now when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Cæsar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival, a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread an horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place and another from another, (though not for his good), that "he was a god;" and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an owl * sit-

* We have a mighty cry made here by some critics, as if the great Eusebius had on purpose falsified this account of Josephus, so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the acts of the Apostles; because the present copies of his citation of it, Hist. Eccles. B. II. ch. x. omit the words βροῦαν—ἐπὶ χοινὶ τινὸς, i. e. *an owl—on a certain rope*, which Josephus's present copies retain, and only have the explicatory word ἄγγελον, or *angel*; as if he meant that *angel of the Lord*, which St. Luke mentions as smiting Herod, Acts xii. 23. and not that owl which Josephus called an *angel* or *messenger formerly of good, but now of bad news* to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is known to have so accurately and faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, without any suspicion of prevarication. Now, not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's and Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present in this clause, which we have no distinct evidence of, the following words, preserved still in Eusebius, will not admit of any such exposition. *This* [*bird*] says Eusebius, *Agrippa presently perceived to be the cause of ill fortune, as it was once of good fortune to him*; which can only belong to that bird the *owl*, which, as it had for-

ting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood, that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I, whom you call a *god*, am commanded presently to depart this life; while providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called *immortal*, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what providence allots, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace; and the rumour went abroad every where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar, three of them were over Philip's Tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it; and he reigned, besides those, three years under the reign of Claudius Cæsar. In which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve * millions of drachmæ. Yet did he borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expences exceeded his incomes, and his generosity was boundless.†

merly forboded this happy deliverance from imprisonment, Antiq. B. XVII. ch. vi. § 7. Vol. II. so was it then foretold to prove afterward the unhappy forerunner of his death in five days time. If the improper word αἴτιον, or *cause*, be changed for Josephus's proper word ἄγγελον, *angel* or *messenger*, and the foregoing words, βαῦνα—ἐπὶ χρόνῳ τινὶ, be inserted, Eusebius's text will truly represent that in Josephus. Had this imperfection been in some heathen author, that was in good esteem with our modern criticks, they would have readily corrected these, as barely errors in the copies; but being in an ancient Christian writer, not so well relished by many of those critics, nothing will serve but the ill grounded supposal of *wilful corruption and prevarication*.

* This sum of 12,000,000 drachmæ, which is equal to 3,000,000 shekels, *i. e.* at 2*s* 10*d*. a shekel, equal to 425,000*l*. sterling, was Agrippa the Great's yearly income, or about three quarters of his grand-father Herod's income; he having abated the tax upon houses at Jerusalem, ch. vi. § 3. and was not so tyrannical as he had been to the Jews. See the note on Antiq B. XVII. ch. xi. § 4. Vol. II. A large sum this! but not, it seems, sufficient for his extravagant expences.

† Reland takes notice here, not improperly, that Josephus omits the reconciliation of this Herod Agrippa to the Tyrians and Sidonians by the means of Blastus

3. But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the maſter of his horſe, and the king's friend, ſent Ariſto, one of the king's moſt faithful ſervants, and ſlew Silas, who had been their enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

CHAP. IX.

What things were done after the Death of Agrippa; and how Claudius, on account of the Youth and Unſkilfulneſs of Agrippa Junior, Sent Cuſpius Fadus to be Procurator of Judea, and of the entire Kingdom.

§ 1. AND thus did King Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a ſon, *Agrippa* by name, a youth in the ſeventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of which, Bernice, was married to Herod his father's brother, and was ſixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Druſilla, were ſtill virgins; the former was ten years old, and Druſilla ſix. Now theſe his daughters were thus eſpouſed by their father, Mariamne to Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the ſon of Antiochus, the ſon of Chelcias, and Druſilla to the king of Commagena. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Ceſarea and of Sebaſte forgot the kindneſſes he had beſtowed on them, and acted the part of the bittereſt enemies; for they caſt ſuch reproachs upon the deceaſed as are not fit to be ſpoken of; and ſo many of them as were then ſoldiers, which were a great number, went to his houſe, and haſtily carried off the ſtatues * of this king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel houſes, and, when they had ſet them on the tops of thoſe houſes, they abuſed them to the utmoſt of their power, and did ſuch things to them as are too indecent to be related. They alſo laid themſelves down in public places, and celebrated general feaſting, with garlands on their heads, and with ointments and libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod alſo, who had himſelf rebuilt their cities, and had raiſed them havens and temples at vaſt expences.

2. Now Agrippa the ſon of the deceaſed, was at Rome, and

the king's chamberlain, mentioned Acts xii. 20. Nor is there any hiſtory in the world ſo complete, as to omit nothing that other hiſtorians take notice of, unleſs the one be taken out of the other, and accommodated to it.

* Photius, who made an extract out of this ſection, ſays, they were not the ſtatues or images, but the ladies themſelves, which were thus baſely abuſed by the ſoldiers. Cod. CCXXXVIII.

brought up with Claudius Cæſar. And when Cæſar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaſte and Ceſarea had abuſed him, he was ſorry for the firſt news, and was diſpleaſed at the ingratitude of thoſe cities. He was therefore diſpoſed to ſend Agrippa junior away preſently to ſucceed his father in the kingdom, and was willing to confirm him in it by his oath. But thoſe freed men and friends of his, who had the greateſt authority with him, diſſuaded him from it, and ſaid, that "it was a dangerous experiment to permit ſo large a kingdom to come under the government of ſo very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of diſcretion, who would not be able to take ſufficient care of its adminiſtration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man." So Cæſar thought what they ſaid to be reaſonable. Accordingly he ſent Cuſpius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom, and paid that reſpect to the deceaſed, as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined in the firſt place, to ſend orders to Fadus, that he ſhould chaſtiſe the inhabitants of Ceſarea and Sebaſte for thoſe abuſes they had offered to him that was deceaſed, and their madneſs toward his daughters that were ſtill alive; and that he ſhould remove that body of ſoldiers that were at Ceſarea and Sebaſte, with the five regiments into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there, and that he ſhould chooſe an equal number of ſoldiers out of the Roman legions, that were in Syria to ſupply their place. Yet were not thoſe that had ſuch orders actually removed; for by ſending ambaſſadors to Claudius they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea ſtill; and theſe were the very men that became the ſource of very great calamities to the Jews in after times, and ſowed the ſeeds of that war which began under Florus; whence it was, that when Veſpaſian had ſubdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as we ſhall relate hereafter*.

* This hiſtory is now wanting.

BOOK XX.

Containing the interval of twenty-two years.

[*From* FADUS *the Procurator to* FLORUS.]

CHAP. I.

A Sedition of the Philadelphians againſt the Jews; and alſo concerning the Veſtments of the High Prieſt.

§ 1. UPON the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Cæſar ſent Caſſius Longinus, as ſucceſſor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often deſired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not ſuffer Marcus to be any longer preſident of Syria. But Fadus, as ſoon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelſome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders, at a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the conſent of their principal men, and had deſtroyed many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had raſhly taken up arms againſt them. So he ſeized upon three of their principal men, who were alſo the cauſes of this ſedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterward had one of them ſlain, whoſe name was Hannibal, and he baniſhed the other two Amram and Eleazar. Tholomy alſo, the arch robber, was, after ſome time brought to him bound and ſlain, but not till he had done a world of miſchief to Idumea, and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus. He alſo at this time ſent for the high-prieſts and the principal citizens of Jeruſalem, and this at the commands of the emperor, and admoniſhed them, that they ſhould lay up the long garment, and the ſacred veſtment, which it is cuſtomary for nobody but the high prieſt to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durſt not contradict what he had ſaid, but deſired Fadus, however, and Longinus,

(which laſt was come to Jeruſalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the [rigid injunctions of Fadus ſhould force the Jews to rebel,) that they might, in the firſt place, have leave to ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar to petition him, that they may have the holy veſtments under their own power, and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what anſwer Claudius would give to that their requeſt. So they replied, that they would give them leave to ſend their ambaſſadors, provided they would give them their ſons as pledges [for their peaceable behaviour.] And when they had agreed ſo to do, and had given them the pledges they deſired, the ambaſſadors were ſent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the ſon of the deceaſed, underſtood the reaſon why they came, (for he dwelt with Claudius Cæſar, as we ſaid before,) he beſought Cæſar to grant the Jews their requeſt about the holy veſtments, and to ſend a meſſage to Fadus accordingly.

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambaſſadors, and told them, That "he granted their requeſt;" and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favour, which had been beſtowed on them upon this intreaty. And, beſides theſe anſwers of his, he ſent the following letter by them: "Claudius Cæſar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and deſigned conſul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews ſendeth greeting. Upon the preſentation of your ambaſſadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a perſon of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earneſt and obliging manner, that they may have the holy veſtments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power; I grant their requeſt, as that excellent perſon Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your deſire; in the firſt place, out of regard to that piety which I profeſs, and becauſe I would have every one worſhip God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do alſo becauſe I ſhall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa junior, whoſe ſacred regards to me and earneſt good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greateſt friendſhip, and whom I highly eſteem, and look on as perſons of the beſt character. Now I have written about theſe affairs to Cuſpius Fadus, my procurator. The names of thoſe that brought me your letter are, Cornelius, the ſon of Cero, Trypho the ſon of Theudio, Dorotheus the ſon of Nathaniel, and John the ſon of John. This letter is dated before the fourth of the calends of July, when Ruſus and Pompeius Sylvanus are conſuls.

3. Herod alſo, the brother of the deceaſed Agrippa, who was then poſſeſſed of the royal authority over Chalcis, peti-

tioned Claudius Cæsar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high-priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among * all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly Herod removed the last high-priest, called *Cantheras*, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph the son of Camus.

CHAP. II.

How Helena, the Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates embraced the Jewish religion; and how Helena supplied the poor with corn, when there was a great famine at Jerusalem.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife's belly, and fell asleep and seemed to hear a voice, which bid him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God's providence, would be safely born, and have an happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him *Izates*. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten † son Izates, which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father, bore to him; while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them. Now although their father were very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates, with many presents, to Abennerig, the king of Charax-Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should

* Here is some error in the copies, or mistake in Josephus; for the power of appointing high-priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa junior was made king of Chalcis in his room, belonging to him, and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed, as Josephus elsewhere informs us, ch. viii. sect. 8. 11. ch. ix. sect. 1, 4, 6, 7.

† Josephus here uses the word μονογενῆ an *only begotten son*, for no other than one *best beloved*, as does both the Old and New Testament, I mean where there were one or more sons besides, Gen. xxii. 2. Heb. xi. 17. See the note on B. I. ch. xiii. sect. 1. Vol. I.

come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him; and married him to his own daughter, whose name was *Samacha:* He also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner and bestowed on him the country called *Carræ;* it was a soil that bare ammomum in great plenty: There are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shewn to such as are desirous to see them*. Accordingly Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command; and when they were come she made the following speech to them: "I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said, That "they confirmed the king's determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates's father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: But that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren, and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him." Helena replied to this, That "she returned them their thanks for their kindness to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would however defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates's brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it." So since these men had not prevailed with her, when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security; they also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she could put the greatest trust in, as a governor of the kingdom in the mean time. So queen Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and

* It is here very remarkable, that the remains of Noah's ark were believed to be still in being in the days of Josephus. See the note on B. I. ch. 3. sect. 5. Vol. I.

put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call *Sampser*, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon his hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

3. Now during the time Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace that religion; he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene: It also happened, that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a certain other Jew, and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren, and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or to imprison them, but still thought it an hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty, with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them, he sent some of them and their children for hostages to Rome to Claudius Cæsar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change and to embrace them entirely; and as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavoured to hinder him from doing it, and said to him, that "this thing would bring him into danger; and that, as he was a king, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign; and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew." This it was that she said to him, and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said, and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him, and said, that "he was afraid lest such an action being once become public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment, for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation; and he said, that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision. He added, that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear

of his ſubjects." So the king at that time complied with theſe perſuaſions of Ananias. But afterwards, as he had not quite left off his deſire of doing this thing, a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whoſe name was Eleazar, and who was eſteemed very ſkilful in the learning of his country, perſuaded him to do the thing; for as he entered into his palace to ſalute him, and found him reading the law of Moſes, he ſaid to him, "Thou doſt not conſider, O king, that thou unjuſtly breakeſt the principal of thoſe laws, and art injurious to God himſelf, [by omitting to be circumciſed;] for thou oughteſt not only to read them, but chiefly to practiſe what they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumciſed? But if thou haſt not yet read the law about circumciſion, and doſt not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he ſaid, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and ſent for a ſurgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then ſent for his mother, and Ananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing; upon which they were preſently ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and fear, and that to a great degree, leſt the thing ſhould be openly diſcovered and cenſured, and the king ſhould hazard the loſs of his kingdom, while his ſubjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was ſo zealous in another religion; and leſt they ſhould themſelves run ſome hazard, becauſe they would be ſuppoſed the occaſion of his ſo doing. But it was God * himſelf who hindered what they feared from taking effect; for he preſerved both Izates himſelf, and his ſons when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it ſeemed to be impoſſible, and demonſtrated thereby, that the fruit of piety does not periſh as to thoſe that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But theſe events we ſhall relate hereafter.

5. But as to Helena the king's mother, when ſhe ſaw that the affairs of Izates's kingdom were in peace, and that her ſon was an happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, ſhe had a mind to go to the city Jeruſalem, in order to worſhip at that temple of God which was ſo very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So ſhe deſired her ſon to give her leave to go thither: Upon which he gave conſent to what ſhe deſired very willingly, and made great preparation for her diſmiſſion, and gave her a great deal of money, and ſhe went down to the city Jeruſalem, her ſon conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jeruſalem; for

* Joſephus is very full and expreſs in theſe three chapters, iii. iv. and v. in obſerving how carefully Divine Providence preſerved this Izates, king of Adiabene, and his ſons, while he did what he thought was his bounden duty, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt political motives to the contrary.

whereas a famine did oppreſs them at that time, and many people died for want of what was neceſſary to procure food withal, queen Helena ſent ſome of her ſervants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as ſoon as they were come back, and had brought thoſe proviſions, which was done very quickly, ſhe diſtributed food to thoſe that were in want of it, and left a moſt excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which ſhe beſtowed on our whole nation. And when her ſon Izates was informed of this famine, he ſent great ſums of money to the principal men in Jeruſalem. However, what favours this queen and king conferred upon our city Jeruſalem ſhall be farther related hereafter *.

CHAP. III.

How Artabanus the King of Parthia, out of fear of the ſecret contrivances of his ſubjects againſt him, went to Izates, and was by him reinſtated in his Government; as alſo how Barzanes, his ſon denounced war againſt Izates.

§ 1. BUT now Artabanus king of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of the provinces, had framed a plot againſt him, did not think it ſafe for him to continue among them, but reſolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding ſome way for his preſervation by his means, and, if poſſible, for his return to his onw dominions. So he came to Izates and brought a thouſand of his kindred and ſervants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izates, but Izates, did not know him. When Artabanus ſtood near him, and, in the firſt place, worſhipped him, according to the cuſtom, he then ſaid to him: "O king, do not thou overlook me thy ſervant, nor do thou proudly reject the ſuit I make thee; for as I am reduced to a low eſtate, by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I ſtand in need of thy aſſiſtance Have regard, therefore, unto the uncertainty of fortune, and eſteem the care thou ſhalt take of me to be taken of thyſelf alſo; for if I be neglected and my ſubjects go off unpuniſhed, many other ſubjects will become the more inſolent towards other kings alſo." And this ſpeech Artabanus made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as ſoon as Izates heard Artabanus's names, and ſaw him ſtand as a ſupplicant before him, he leaped down from his horſe immediately, and ſaid to him, "Take courage,

* This farther account of the benefactions of Izates and Helena to the Jeruſalem Jews, which Joſephus here promiſes, is, I think, no where performed by him in his preſent works. But of this terrible famine itſelf in Judea, take Dr. Hudſon's note here;—"This (ſays he) is that famine foretold by Agabus, Acts xi. 28. which happened when Claudius was conſul the fourth time; and not that other which

O king, nor be diſturbed at thy preſent calamity, as if it were incurable; for the change of thy ſad condition ſhall be ſudden; for thou ſhalt find me to be more thy friend and thy aſſiſtant than thy hopes can promiſe thee; for I will either re-eſtabliſh thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or loſe my own."

2. When he had ſaid this, he ſent Artabanus upon his horſe, and followed him on foot in honour of a king whom he owned as greater than himſelf; which, when Artabanus ſaw, he was very uneaſy at it, and and ſware, by his preſent fortune and honour, that he would get down from his horſe, unleſs Izates would get upon his horſe again, and go before him. So he complied with his deſire, and leaped upon his horſe; and, when he had brought him to his royal palace, he ſhewed him all ſorts of reſpect, when they ſat together, and he gave him the upper place at feſtivals alſo, as regarding not his preſent fortune, but his former dignity, and that upon this conſideration alſo, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He alſo wrote to the Parthians, to perſuade them to receive Artabanus again; and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he ſhould forget what was paſt and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themſelves refuſe to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not now in their power ſo to do; becauſe they had committed the government to another perſon, who had accepted of it, and whoſe name was Cinnamus, and that they were afraid leſt a civil war ſhould ariſe on this account. When Cinnamus underſtood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himſelf, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle alſo, and deſired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly Artabanus truſted him, and returned home; when Cinnamus met him, worſhipped him, and ſaluted him as king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

3. And thus was Artabanus reſtored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had loſt it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with ſuch honours as were of greateſt eſteem among them; for he

happened when Claudius was conſul the ſecond time, and Cæſina was his colleague, as Scaliger ſays upon Euſebius, p. 174." Now when Joſephus had laid a little afterward, ch. v. ſect. 2. that "Tiberius Alexander ſucceeded Cuſpius Fadus as procurator," he immediately ſubjoins, That "under theſe procurators there happened a great famine in Judea." Whence it is plain that this famine continued for many years, on account of its duration under thoſe two procurators. Now Fadus was not ſent into Judea till after the death of king Agrippa, i. e. towards the latter end of the 4th year of Claudius; ſo that this famine foretold by Agabus, happened upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th years of Claudius, as ſays Valeſius on Euſeb. II. 12. Of this famine alſo, and queen Helena's ſupplies, and her monument, ſee Moſes Chorenenſis, p. 144, 145, where it is obſerved in the notes, that Pauſanias mentions that her monument alſo.

gave him leave to wear his tiara upright *, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis, wherein the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygdonia. And these were the honours that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

4. But in no long time, Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans; but he could not prevail with him. For Izates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done; and having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning, as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple as I have said already, was the more backward to a compliance; and restrained Bardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thought thereby to terrify him, and desired thereby to hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this his behaviour, and denounced war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians, perceiving Bardanes's intentions, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Gotarzes. He also, in no long time, perished by a plot made against him and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers, by the same father; that of the Medes to the elder, Pacorus, and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

CHAP. IV.

How Izates was betrayed by his own Subjects, and fought against by the Arabians: And how Izates, by the Providence of God, was delivered out of their hands.

§ 1. NOW when the king's brother Monobazus, and his other kindred, saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered by

* This privilege of wearing the tiara upright, or with the tip of the cone erect, is known to have been of old peculiar to [great] kings, from Xenophon and others, as Dr. Hudson observes here.

Izates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not contain their anger at them; but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king; and they farther promised him, that, on the first onset, they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship: Then they obliged themselves by oaths to be faithful to each other, and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates; and, in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and, turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this; but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that had made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king and drove him into a fortress called *Arsamus*, and, following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabane: Yet did not he take Abia alive; because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian family; for they said, That "they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs." When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates; and he had just pretence for this war, he sent to him, and demanded back those honourable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind, as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him, out of cowardice; yet because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honours, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God, his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life; and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he entrusted

his children and his wives to a very ſtrong fortreſs, and laid up his corn in his citadels, and ſet the hay and the graſs on fire. And when he had thus put things in order as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come, with a great army of footmen and horſemen, which he did ſooner than was expected (for he marched in great haſte,) and had caſt up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media; Izates alſo pitched his camp not far off, having with him ſix thouſand horſemen. But there came a meſſenger to Izates, ſent by the king of Parthia, who told him, "How large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria and enumerated that king's ſubjects: He alſo threatened him, that he ſhould be puniſhed, as a perſon ungrateful to his lords; and ſaid, that the God whom he worſhipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands." When the meſſenger had delivered this his meſſage, Izates replied, That "he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew alſo that God was much more powerful than all men." And when he had returned him this anſwer, he betook himſelf to make ſupplication * to God, and threw himſelf upon the ground, and put aſhes upon his head in teſtimony of his confuſion, and faſted, together with his wives and children. When he called upon God and ſaid, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myſelf to thy goodneſs, but have juſtly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my aſſiſtance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their inſolent behaviour with regard to thy power, while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue againſt thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himſelf, with tears in his eyes; whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night Vologaſes received letters, the contents of which were theſe, that a great band of Dahæ and Sahæ, deſpiſing him now he was gone ſo long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waſte; ſo that he [was forced to] retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates eſcaped the threatenings of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

3. It was not long ere Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four ſons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobazus ſhould ſucceed in the government, thereby requiting him, becauſe, while he was himſelf abſent, after their

* This mourning, and faſting and praying uſed by Izates, with proſtration of his body, and aſhes upon his head, are plain ſigns that he was become either a Jew, or an Ebionite Chriſtian, who indeed differed not much from proper Jews. See chap. vi § 1. However, his ſupplications were heard, and he was providentially delivered from that imminent danger he was in.

father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena, his mother heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her, that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she went to him in haste; and when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids *, which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant more than three furlongs from the city Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he had during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter†.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Theudas, and the Sons of Judas the Galilean: As also what Calamity fell upon the Jews on the Day of the Passover.

§ 1. NOW it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas ‡, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit him to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befel the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contempories, both for his family and wealth: He was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which

* These pyramids or pillars, erected by Helena, queen of Adiabene, near Jerusalem, three in number, are mentioned by Eusebius, in his Eccles. Hist. B. II. ch. 12. for which Dr Hudson refers us to Valesius's notes upon that place. They are also mentioned by Pausanias, as hath been already noted, chap. ii § 6. Reland guesses that that now called *Absalom's pillar* may be one of them.

† This account is now wanting.

‡ This Theudas, who arose under Fadus the procurator, about A. D. 45 or 46, could not be that Theudas who arose in the days of the taxing, under Cyrenius; or about A. D. 7. Acts v 36, 37. Who that earlier Theudas was, see the note on B. XVII ch. x § 5. Vol. II.

queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expence, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides this the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain, I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have shewed in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high-priesthood and made Ananias, the son of Nebedus his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came a successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cæsar. He left behind him three sons. Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicianus, and Hircanus, both whom he had by Bernice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cæsar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa junior.

3. Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Camanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast, which is called the Passover, was at hand, at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together, from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if perchance any such should begin; and this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out, that this impious action was not done to reproach them, but God himself; nay, some of them reproached Cumanus and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditious attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not induce them to be quiet, for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily; but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in those narrow passages; nor indeed was the number fewer

than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; so great an affliction did the impudent obscenenes of a single soldier bring upon them *.

4 Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befel them also; for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were travelling along the public road, about an hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus a servant of Cæsar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him. Which things when Cumanus heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility. Which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great numbers, and came down to Cesarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him, that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

CHAP. VI.

How there happened a Quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans, and how Claudius put an End to their Differences.

§ 1. NOW there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews on occasion following: It was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journeys through the country of the Samaritans †; and at this time there lay, in the road they took, a village that was called *Ginæa*, which was situated in the limits

* This, and many more tumults and seditions, which arose at the Jewish festivals, in Josephus, illustrate that cautious procedure of the Jewish governors, when they said, Matt. xxvi. 5. "Let us not take Jesus on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar among the people;" as Reland well observes on this place. Josephus also takes notice of the same thing, Of the War, B. I. ch. iv. § 3. Vol. III.

† This constant passage of the Galileans through the country of Samaria, as they went to Judea and Jerusalem, illustrates several passages in the gospels to the same

of Samaria and the great plain, where certain perſons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But, when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and deſired him to avenge the murderer of thoſe that were killed; but he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing in the matter: Upon which the Galileans were much diſpleaſed, and perſauded the multitude of the Jews to betake themſelves to arms, and to regain their liberty, ſaying, That "ſlavery was in itſelf a bitter thing but that, when it was joined with direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable." And when their principal men endeavoured to pacify them, and promiſed to endeavour to perſuade Cumanus to avenge thoſe that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took their weapons, and entreated the aſſiſtance of Eleazer, the ſon of Dineus, a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountains, with which aſſiſtance they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs, he took the band of Sebaſte, with four regiments of footmen, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out againſt the Jews, and caught them, and ſlew many of them and took a greater number of them alive. Whereupon thoſe that were the moſt eminent perſons at Jeruſalem, and that both in regard of the reſpect that was paid them, and the families they were of, as ſoon as they ſaw to what an height things were gone, put on ſackcloth, and heaped aſhes upon their heads, and by all poſſible means beſought the ſeditious, and perſuaded them that they would ſet before their eyes the utter ſubverſion * of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the ſlavery of themſelves their wives and children, which would be the conſequences of what they were doing, and would alter their minds, would caſt away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. Theſe perſuaſions of theirs prevailed upon them. So the people diſperſed themſelves, and the robbers went away again to their places of ſtrength; and after this time all Judea was over-run with robberies.

2. But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus the preſident of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accuſed the Jews of ſetting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and ſaid withal, That "they were not ſo much diſpleaſed at what they had ſuffered, as they were at the

purpoſe, as Dr. Hudſon rightly obſerves. See Luke xvii 1. John iv. 4. See alſo Joſephus in his own life, § 52. Vol. II where that journey is determined to three days.

* Our Saviour had foretold, that the Jews' rejection of his goſpel would bring upon them, among other miſeries, theſe three, which they themſelves here ſhew, they expected, would be the conſequences of their preſent tumults and ſeditions; the utter ſubverſion of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the ſlavery of themſelves, their wives and children. See Luke xxi. 6—24.

contempt thereby ſhowed the Romans; while, if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not preſently to make ſuch devaſtation, as if they had not the Romans for their governors; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain that vengeance they wanted." This was the accuſation which the Samaritans brought againſt the Jews. But the Jews affirmed, that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and that, in the firſt place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and paſſed over the murder of thoſe that were ſlain, in ſilence. Which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cauſe, and promiſed that he would give ſentence when he ſhould come into Judea, and ſhould have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So theſe men went away without ſucceſs. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the cauſe, he ſuppoſed that the Samaritans were the authors of that diſturbance. But, when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered thoſe to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence he went to a certain village called *Lyddia*, which was not leſs than a city in largeneſs, and there heard the Samaritan cauſe a ſecond time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whoſe name was *Dortus*, and ſome other innovators with him, four in number, perſuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death: But ſtill he ſent away Ananias the high-prieſt, and Ananus the commander [of the temple], in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Cæſar. He alſo ordered the principal men both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as alſo Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the tribune, to go to Italy to the Emperor, that he might hear their cauſe, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jeruſalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews ſhould attempt ſome innovations; but he found the city in a peaceable ſtate, and celebrating one of the uſual feſtivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the feſtival, and returned to Antioch.

3. Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were ſent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, whereon they were to have pleaded their cauſe about the quarrels they had one with another. But now Caeſar's freed-men, and his friends, were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unleſs Agrippa junior who was then at Rome, had ſeen the principal of the Jews hard ſet, and had earneſtly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to perſuade her huſband to hear the cauſe, ſo as was agreeable to his juſtice, and to condemn

those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government. Whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in those mischievous doings, he gave order, that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. He also gave order, that Celer the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

CHAP. VII.

Felix is made procurator of Judea; as also concerning Agrippa junior, and his Sisters.

§ 1. SO Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to take care of the affairs of Judea; and, when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he had bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip, and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonitis, with Abila; which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And, when Agrippa had received these countries as the gift of Cæsar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised; for Epiphanes, the son of King Antiochus, had refused to marry her, because, after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish religion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had been betrothed formerly by Agrippa her father; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was *Berniece*.

2. But for the marriage of Drusilla with Azizus, it was in no long time afterward dissolved upon the following occasion: While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her; for she did indeed exceed all other women in beauty; and he sent to her a person whose name was *Simon* *, one of his friends; a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot, and one who pretended to be a magician, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and

* This Simon, a friend of Felix, a jew, born in Cyprus, though he pretended to be a magician, and seems to have been wicked enough, could hardly be that famous Simon the magician, in the Acts of the Apostles, viii. 9, &c. as some are ready to suppose. This Simon mentioned in the Acts was not properly a jew, but a Samaritan, of the town of Gittae, in the country of Samaria, as the Apostolical Constitutions, VI. 7. the Recognitions of Clement, II. 6 and Justin Martyr, himself born in the country of Samaria, Apology, I. 34. informs us. He was also the author, not of any ancient jewish, but of the first Gentile heresies, as the forementioned authors affirm us. So I suppose him a different person from the other. I mean this only upon the hypothesis, that Josephus were not misinformed as to

marry him; and promiſed, that, if ſhe would not refuſe him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly ſhe acted ill, and becauſe ſhe was deſirous to avoid her ſiſter Bernice's envy, for ſhe was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty, was prevailed upon to tranſgreſs the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix; and, when he had had a ſon by her, he named him *Agrippa*. But after what manner that young man, with his wife, periſhed at the conflagration * of the mountain Veſuvius, in the days of Titus Cæſar, ſhall be related hereafter †.

3. But as for Bernice, ſhe lived a widow a long while after the death of Herod [king of Chalcis,] who was both her huſband and her uncle; but, when the report went that ſhe had criminal converſation with her brother, [Agrippa junior], ſhe perſuaded Polemo, who was king of Cilicia, to be circumciſed, and to marry her, as ſuppoſing, that by this means ſhe ſhould prove thoſe calumnies upon her to be falſe; and Polemo was prevailed upon, and that chiefly on account of her riches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long; but Bernice left Polemo, and, as was ſaid, with impure intentions. So he forſook at once this matrimony, and the Jewiſh religion: And at the ſame time Mariamne put away Archelaus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So ſhe named her ſon, whom ſhe had by him, *Agrippinus*. But of all theſe particulars we ſhall hereafter treat more exactly.‡

his being a Cypriot jew; for otherwiſe the time, the name, the profeſſion, and the wickedneſs of them both, would ſtrongly incline one to believe them the very ſame As to that Druſilla the ſiſter of Agrippa junior, as Joſephus informs us here, and a jewels, as St Luke informs us, Acts xxiv. 24. whom this Simon mentioned by *Joſephus*, perſuaded to leave her former huſband, Azizus, king of Emeſa, a proſelyte of juſtice, and to marry Felix, the Heathen procurator of Judea, Tacitus, Hiſt. *V.* 9. ſuppoſes her to be an heathen, and the grand-daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, contrary both to St Luke and Joſephus. Now Tacitus lived ſomewhat too remote both as to time and place, to be compared with either of thoſe Jewiſh writers, in a matter concerning the Jews in Judea in their own days, and concerning a ſiſter of Agrippa junior, with which Agrippa Joſephus was himſelf ſo well acquainted. It is probable that Tacitus may ſay true when he informs us, that this Felix (who had in all three wives, or queens, as Suetonius in Claudius, ſect. 28. aſſures us) did once marry ſuch a grandchild of Antonius and Cleopatra; and, finding the name of one of them to have been Druſilla, he miſtook her for that other wife, whoſe name he did not know.

* This eruption of Veſuvius was one of the greateſt we have in hiſtory. See Bianchini's curious and important obſervations on this Veſuvius, and its ſeven ſeveral great eruptions, with their remains vitrified, and ſtill exiſting, in ſo many different *ſtrata* under ground, till the diggers came to the antediluvian waters, with their proportionable interſtices, implying the deluge to have been above 2500 years before the Chriſtian æra, according to our exacteſt chronology.

† This is now wanting.

‡ This alſo is now wanting.

CHAP. VIII.

After what manner, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero ſucceeded in the Government; as alſo what Barbarous things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impoſtors, that aroſe, while Felix and Feſtus were Procurators of Judea.

§ 1. NOW Claudius Cæſar died when he had reigned thirteen years eight months and twenty days *; and a report went about, that he was poiſoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Cæſar. Her huſband was Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the moſt illuſtrious perſons that was in the city of Rome; after whoſe death, and her own long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife. She brought along with her a ſon, Domitius, of the ſame name with his father. He had before this ſlain his wife Maſſalina out of jealouſy, by whom he had had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldeſt ſiſter was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina his firſt wife. He alſo married Octavia to *Nero*; for that was the name that Cæſar gave him afterward, upon his adopting him for his ſon.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, leſt when Britannicus ſhould come to man's eſtate, he ſhould ſucceed his father in the government, and deſired to ſeize upon the principality before hand for her own ſon [Nero;] upon which the report went, that ſhe thence compaſſed the death of Claudius. Accordingly ſhe ſent Burrhus the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes, and ſuch alſo of the freed men as were of the greateſt authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to ſalute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be ſo poiſoned, that the multitude ſhould not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but by bringing it ſo about by her contrivances, that he obtained the Roman empire. He alſo ſlew Octavia his own wife, and many other illuſtrious perſons, under this pretence that they ploted againſt him.

3. But I omit any farther diſcourſe about theſe affairs; for there have been a great many who have compoſed the hiſtory of Nero; ſome of which have departed from the truth of facts out of favour, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill will which they bare him, have ſo impudently raved againſt him with their lies, that they juſtly deſerve to be condemned. Nor do I

* This duration of the reign of Claudius agrees with Dio, as Dr Hudſon here remarks; as he alſo remarks, that Nero's name, which was at firſt *L. Domitius AEnobarbus*, after Claudius had adopted him, was *Nero Claudius Cæſar Druſus Germanicus*.

wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But, as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they take delight: But as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

4. For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, Soemus * his brother succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of Lesser Armenia. Cæsar also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, Tiberias †, and Taricheæ and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

5. Now, as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually; for the country was again filled with robberies, and impostors who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch, and put to death many of those impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazer, the son of Dineas, who had gotten together a company of robbers; and this he did by treachery; for he gave him assurance, that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill-will to Jonathan the high priest, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since he it was who had desired Cæsar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers

* This Soemus is elsewhere mentioned [by Josephus in his own Life, sect. 11. Vol. II. as also] by Dio Cassius and Tacitus, as Dr Hudson informs us.

† This agrees with Josephus's frequent accounts elsewhere in his own Life, that Tiberias, and Taricheæ, and Gamala, were under this Agrippa junior, till Justus, the son of Pistus, seized upon them for the Jews upon the breaking out of the war.

might murder him after the following manner: Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and by thus mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew Jonathan*, and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festivals after this time, and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money, and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reasons why God, out of his hatred of these mens wickedness, rejected our city; and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it, and brought upon us, our wives, and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

6. These works, that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these † impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the

* This treacherous and barbarous murder of the good high-priest Jonathan, by the contrivance of this wicked procurator Felix, was the immediate occasion of the ensuing murders by the Sicarii or ruffians, and one great cause of the following horrid cruelties and miseries of the Jewish nation, as Josephus here supposes; whose excellent reflection on the great wickedness of that nation, as the direct cause of their terrible destruction, is well worthy the attention of every Jewish, and of every Christian reader. And, since we are soon coming to the catalogue of the Jewish high-priests, it may not be amiss, with Reland, to insert this Jonathan among them, and to transcribe his particular catalogue of the last twenty eight high-priests, to end out of Josephus, and begin with Ananelus, who was made by Herod the Great. See Antiq. B. XV. ch. ii. sect. 4. Vol. II. and the note there.

1. Ananelus.
2. Aristobulus.
3. Jesus, the son of Fabus.
4. Simon, the son of Boethus.
5. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
6. Joazar, the son of Boethus.
7. Eleazar, the son of Boethus.
8. Jesus, the son of Sie.
9. [Annas, or] Ananus, the son of Seth.
10. Ismael, the son of Fabus.
11. Eleazar, the son of Ananus.
12. Simon, the son of Camithus.
13. Josephus Caiaphas, the son-in-law to Ananus.
14. Jonathan, the son of Ananus.
15. Theophilus, his brother, and son of Ananus.
16. Simon, the son of Boethus.
17. Matthias, the brother of Jonathan, and son of Ananus.
18. Aljoneus.
19. Josephus, the son of Camydus.
20. Ananias, the son of Nebedeus.
21. Jonathas.
22. Ismael, the son of Fabi.
23. Joseph Cabi, the son of Simon.
24. Ananus, the son of Ananus.
25. Jesus, the son of Damneus.
26. Jesus, the son of Gameliel.
27. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
28. Phannias, the son of Samuel.

As for Ananus, and Joseph Caiaphas, here mentioned about the middle of this catalogue, they are no other than those Annas and Caiaphas, so often mentioned in the four gospels; and that Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, was that high-priest before whom St. Paul pleaded his own cause, Acts xxiv.

† Of these Jewish impostors and false prophets, with many other circumstances

wilderneſs, and pretended that they would exhibit manifeſt wonders and ſigns, that ſhould be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them ſuffered the puniſhments of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and then puniſhed them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt * about this time to Jeruſalem, one that ſaid he was a prophet, and adviſed the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over againſt the city, and at the diſtance of five furlongs. He ſaid farther, that he would ſhew them from hence, how, at his command, the walls of Jeruſalem would fall down; and he promiſed them, that he would procure them an entrance into the city through thoſe walls, when they were fallen down. Now, when Felix was informed of theſe things, he ordered his ſoldiers to take their weapons, and come againſt them, with a great number of horſemen and footmen, from Jeruſalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He alſo ſlew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himſelf eſcaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers ſtirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and ſaid, they ought not to obey them at all; and when any perſon would not comply with them, they ſet fire to their villages, and plundered them.

7. And now it was that a great ſedition aroſe between the Jews that inhabited Ceſarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there alſo, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens, for the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, becauſe Herod their king was the builder of Ceſarea, and becauſe he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alledged about Herod; but they ſaid, that Ceſarea was formerly called Strato's tower, and that then there was not one Jewiſh inhabitant. When the preſidents of that country heard of theſe diſorders, they caught the authors of them on both ſides, and tormented them with ſtripes, and by that means put a ſtop to the diſturbance for a time. But the Jewiſh citizens depending on their wealth, and on that account deſpiſing the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by ſuch reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themſelves highly on this account, that the greateſt part of Roman ſoldiers that were there, were either of Ceſarea or Sebaſte, they alſo for ſome time uſed reproachful language to the Jews alſo; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing ſtones at one another, and ſeveral were wounded, and fell on both ſides, though ſtill the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix ſaw that

and miſeries of the Jews, till their utter deſtruction, foretold by our Saviour. See Lit. Accompl of Proph. p. 58—75.

* Of this Egyptian impoſtor, and the number of his followers in Joſephus, ſee Acts xxi. 38.

this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the ſudden, and deſired the Jews to deſiſt; and when they refuſed ſo to do, he armed his ſoldiers, and ſent them out upon them, and ſlew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his ſoldiers to plunder ſome of the houſes of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now thoſe Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themſelves, and deſired of Felix that he would found a retreat to his ſoldiers, and ſpare them for the future, and afford them room for repentance for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do ſo.

8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high prieſthood to Iſmael, who was the ſon of Fabi. And now aroſe a ſedition between the high prieſts and the principal men of the multitude of Jeruſalem; each of which got them a company of the boldeſt ſort of men, and of thoſe that loved innovations, about them, and became leaders to them; and when they ſtruggled together, they did it by caſting reproachful words againſt one another, and by throwing ſtones alſo. And there was no body to reprove them; but theſe diſorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And ſuch was the impudence * and boldneſs that had ſeized on the high prieſts, that they had the hardineſs to ſend their ſervants into the threſhing floors, to take away thoſe tithes that were due to the prieſts, inſomuch that it ſo fell out that the poorer ſort of the prieſts died for want. To this degree did the violence of the ſeditious prevail over all right and juſtice!

9. Now, when Porcius Feſtus was ſent as ſucceſſor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewiſh inhabitants of Ceſarea went up to Rome to accuſe Felix; and he had certainly been brought to puniſhment, unleſs Nero had yielded to the importunate ſolicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time had in the greateſt honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Ceſarea perſuaded Burrhus, who was Nero's tutor, and ſecretary for his Greek epiſtles by giving him a great ſum of money, to diſannul that equality of the Jewiſh privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrhus, by his ſolicitations, obtained leave of the emperor, that an epiſtle ſhould be written to that purpoſe. This epiſtle became the occaſion of the following miſeries that befel our nation; for, when the Jews of Ceſarea were informed of the contents of this epiſtle to the Syrians, they were more diſorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

10. Upon Feſtus's coming into Judea, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were ſet

* The wickedneſs here was very peculiar and extraordinary, that the high-prieſt ſhould ſo oppreſs their brethren the prieſts, as to ſtarve the pooreſt of them to death. See the like preſently, ch. ix. ſect. 2. Such fatal crimes are covetouſneſs and tyranny in the clergy, as well as in the laity, in all ages.

on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the Sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian *acinacæ*, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman *ficæ* [or sickles], as they were called: And from those weapons these robbers got their denomination; and with those weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers also.

11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus, and was situate upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple: Which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law, that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner-court of the temple towards the west, which wall, when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer-court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the procurator, were much displeased; and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again; but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an ambassage about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live if any part of the temple should be demolished: And when Festus had given them leave so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ismael the high-priest, and Helcias the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave * them what they had already done, but also gave them

* We have here one eminent example of Nero's mildness and goodness in his

leave to let the wall they had built ſtand. This was granted them in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife, who was a religious woman, and had requeſted theſe favours of Nero, and who gave order to the ten ambaſſadors to go their way home: but retained Helcias and Ilmael as hoſtages with herſelf. As ſoon as the king heard this news, he gave the high-prieſthood to Joſeph, who was called *Cabi*, the ſon of Simon, formerly high-prieſt.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning Albinus, under whoſe Procuratorſhip James was ſlain; as alſo what Edifices were built by Agrippa.

§ 1. AND now Cæſar, upon hearing the death of Feſtus, ſent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joſeph of the high-prieſthood, and beſtowed the ſucceſſion to that dignity on the ſon of Ananus, who was alſo himſelf called *Ananus*. Now the report goes, that this eldeſt Ananus proved a moſt fortunate man; for he had five ſons, who had all performed the office of an high-prieſt to God, and who had himſelf enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high-prieſts. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high-prieſthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very inſolent: He was alſo of the ſect of the Sadducees *, who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the reſt of the Jews, as we have already obſerved; when therefore Ananus was of this diſpoſition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exerciſe his authority]. Feſtus was now dead, and Albinus was put upon the road; ſo he aſſembled the ſanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jeſus, who was called *Chriſt*, whoſe name was *James*, and ſome others, [or, ſome of his companions]. And when he had formed an accuſation againſt them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be ſtoned: But as for thoſe who ſeemed the moſt equitable of the citizens, and ſuch as

government towards the Jews, during the firſt five years of his reign, ſo famous in antiquity; we have perhaps another in Joſephus's own Life, ſect. 3. Vol. II. and a third, though of a very different nature here, in ſect. 9 juſt before. However, both the generous acts of kindneſs were obtained of Nero by his queen Poppæa, who was a religious lady, and perhaps privately a Jewiſh proſelyte, and ſo were not owing entirely to Nero's own goodneſs.

* It hence evidently appears, that Sadducees might be high-prieſts in the days of Joſephus, and that theſe Sadducees were uſually very ſevere and inexorable judges, while the Phariſees were much milder, and more merciful, as appears by Reland's inſtances in his note on this place, and on Joſephus's Life, ſect. 34. Vol. II. and thoſe taken from the New Teſtament, from Joſephus himſelf, and from the Rabbins; nor do we meet with any Sadducees later than this high-prieſt in all Joſephus.

were the moſt uneaſy at the breach of the laws, they diſliked what was done; they alſo ſent to the king, [Agrippa], deſiring him to ſend to Ananus that he ſhould act ſo no more, for that what he had already done was not to be juſtified: Nay*, ſome of them went alſo to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him, that it was not lawful for Ananus to aſſemble a ſanhedrim without his conſent. Whereupon Albinus, complied with what they ſaid, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to puniſhment for what he had done; on which king Agrippa, took the high-prieſthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jeſus, the ſon of Damneus, high-prieſt.

2. Now as ſoon as Albinus was come to the city of Jeruſalem, he uſed all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by deſtroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high-prieſt Ananias †, he increaſed in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favour and eſteem of the citizens in a ſignal manner; for he was a great hoarder up of money: He therefore cultivated the friendſhip of Albinus, and of the high-prieſt [Jeſus], by making them preſents; he had alſo ſervants who were very wicked, who joined themſelves to the boldeſt ſort of the people, and went to the threſhing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the prieſts by violence, and did not refrain from beating ſuch as would not give theſe tithes to them. So the other high-prieſts acted in the like manner, as did thoſe his ſervants, without any one's being able to prohibit them; ſo that [ſome of the] prieſts, that of old were wont to be ſupported with thoſe tithes, died for want of food.

3. But now the Sicarii went into the city by night, juſt before the feſtival, which was now at hand, and took the ſcribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whoſe name was

* Of this condemnation of James the Juſt, and its cauſes, as alſo that he did not die till long afterwards, ſee Prim. Chriſt. Revived, Vol. III. ch. 43—46. The ſanhedrim condemned our Saviour, but could not put him to death without the approbation of the Roman procurator; nor could therefore Ananias and his ſanhedrim do more here, ſince they never had Albinus's approbation for the putting this James to death.

† This Ananias was not the ſon of Nebedeus, as I take it, but he who was called Annas or Ananus the elder, the 9th in the catalogue, and who had been eſteemed high-prieſt for a long time; and, beſides Caiaphas his ſon-in-law, had five of his own ſons high-prieſts after him, which were thoſe of numbers 11, 14, 15, 17, 24, in the foregoing catalogue. Nor ought we to paſs ſlightly over what Joſephus here ſays of Annas or Ananias, that he was high-prieſt a long time before his children were ſo; he was the ſon of Seth, and is ſet down firſt for high-prieſt in the foregoing catalogue, under number 9. He was made by Quirinus, and continued till Iſmael, the 10th in number, for about 23 years, which long duration of his high-prieſthood, joined to the ſucceſſions of his ſon-in-law, and five children of his own, made him a ſort of perpetual high-prieſt, and was perhaps the occaſion that former high-prieſts kept their titles ever afterwards; for I believe it is hardly met with before him.

Eleazar, who was the ſon of Ananus [Ananias] the high-prieſt, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they ſent to Ananias, and ſaid, that they would ſend the ſcribe to him if he would perſuade Albinus to releaſe ten of thoſe priſoners which he had caught of their party; ſo Ananias was plainly forced to perſuade Albinus, and gained his requeſt of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch ſome of Ananias's ſervants, and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered ſome of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become no ſmall number, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole country.

4. About this time it was that king Agrippa built Ceſarea Philippi larger than it was before, and in honour of Nero, named it *Neronias*. And when he had built a theatre at Berytus, with vaſt expences, he beſtowed on them ſhows, to be exhibited every year, and ſpent therein many ten thouſand [drachmæ]: He alſo gave the people a largeſs of corn, and diſtributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with ſtatues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands; nay, he almoſt transferred all that was moſt ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his ſubjects: Becauſe he took thoſe things away that belonged to them, to adorn a foreign city. And now Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel, became the ſucceſſor of Jeſus, the ſon of Damneas, in the high-prieſthood, which the king had taken from the other; on which account a ſedition aroſe between the high prieſts, with regard to one another; for they got together bodies of the boldeſt ſort of the people, and frequently came from reproaches to throwing of ſtones at each other. But Ananias was too hard for the reſt, by his riches, which enabled him to gain thoſe that were moſt ready to receive. Coſtobarus alſo, and Saulus did themſelves get together a multitude of wicked wretches, and this becauſe they were of the royal family; and ſo they obtained favour among them, becauſe of their kindred to Agrippa: But ſtill they uſed violence with people, and were very ready to plunder thoſe that were weaker than themſelves. And from that it principally came to paſs, that our city was greatly diſordered, and that all things grew worſe and worſe among us.

5. But when Albinus heard that Geſſius Florus was coming to ſucced him, he was deſirous to appear to do ſomewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jeruſalem; ſo he brought out all thoſe priſoners who ſeemed to him to be the moſt plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to thoſe who had been put into priſon on ſome trifling occaſions, he took money of them, and diſmiſſed them; by which means the priſons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now as many of the levites *, which is a tribe of ours, as were ſingers of hymns, perſuaded the king to aſſemble a ſanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the prieſts? for they ſaid, that this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of ſuch a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their deſire; for the king, with the ſuffrages of thoſe that came into the ſanhedrim, granted the ſingers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aſide their former garments, and wear ſuch a linen one as they deſired; and as a part of this tribe miniſtered in the temple, he alſo permitted them to learn thoſe hymns as they had beſought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been tranſgreſſed, we have never been able to avoid the puniſhment of ſuch tranſgreſſions.

7. And now it was that the temple † was finiſhed. So when the people ſaw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thouſand, and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, becauſe they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple, and while they were unwilling to keep them by the treaſures that were there depoſited, out of fear of [their being carried away by] the Romans: And while they had a regard to the making proviſion for the workmen, they had a mind to expend thoſe treaſures upon them; for if any one of them did but labour for a ſingle hour, he received his pay immediately; ſo they perſuaded him to rebuild the eaſtern cloiſters. Theſe cloiſters belonged to the outer court, and were ſituated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length,] and were built of ſquare and very white ſtones, the length of each of which ſtones was twenty cubits, and their height ſix cubits. This was the work of king Solomon ‡, who firſt of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Cæſar, conſidering that it is eaſy to demoliſh any building, but hard to build it up again and that it was particularly hard to do it to theſe cloiſters, which would require a conſiderable time, and great ſums of money, he denied the petitioners their requeſt about that matter; but he did not obſtruct them when they deſired the city might be paved with white ſtone. He alſo deprived Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel, of

* This inſolent petition of ſome of the Levites, to wear the ſacerdotal garments, when they ſung hymns to God in the temple, was very probably owing to the great depreſſion and contempt the haughty high-prieſts had now brought their brethren the prieſts into; of which ſee chap. viii ſect. 8. and chap. ix ſect. 2.

† Of this finiſhing, not of the Ναος, or *holy houſe*, but of the ἱερὸν, or courts about it, called in general the *temple*, ſee the note on B. XVII. ch. x. ſect. 2. Vol. II.

‡ Of theſe cloiſters of Solomon, ſee the deſcription of the temple, ch. xiii. They ſeem, by Joſephus's words, to have been built from the bottom of the valley.

the high-prieſthood, and gave it to Matthias, the ſon of Theophilus, under whom the Jews war with the Romans took its beginning.

CHAP. X.

An Enumeration of the High-Prieſts.

§ 1. AND now I think it proper, and agreeable to this hiſtory, to give an account of our high-prieſts; how they began, and who thoſe are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the firſt place, therefore, hiſtory informs us, that Aaron, the brother of Moſes officiated to God as an high-prieſt, and that, after his death, his ſons ſucceeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them to all their poſterity. Whence it is a cuſtom of our country, that no one ſhould take the high-prieſthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another ſtock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high-prieſthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high-prieſts from Aaron, of whom we have ſpoken already, as of the firſt of them, until Phanas, who was made high-prieſt during the war by the ſeditious, was eighty-three: Of whom thirteen officiated as high-prieſts in the wilderneſs, from the days of Moſes, while the tabernacle was ſtanding, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the temple to God: For at the firſt they held the high-prieſthood till the end of their life, although afterward they had ſucceſſors while they were alive. Now theſe thirteen, who were the deſcendants of two of the ſons of Aaron, received this dignity by ſucceſſion one after another; for their form of government was an ariſtocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place a government was regal. Now the number of years during the rule of theſe thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt under Moſes their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jeruſalem, were ſix hundred and twelve. After thoſe thirteen high-prieſts, eighteen took the high-prieſthood at Jeruſalem, one in ſucceſſion to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon made an expedition againſt that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Joſadek the high-prieſt captive; the times of theſe high-prieſts was four hundred ſixty-ſix years ſix months and ten days, while the Jews were ſtill under the regal government. But after the term of ſeventy years captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus king of Perſia, ſent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jeſus, the ſon of

Joſadek, took the high-prieſthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now he and his poſterity who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government for fourteen years; and then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lyſia the general of his army, deprived Onias who was alſo called Menelaus, of the high-prieſthood, and ſlew him at Berea, and driving away the ſon [of Onias the third,] put Jacimus into the place of the high-prieſt, one that was indeed of the ſtock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the ſame name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendſhip of Ptolemy Philometor, and Cleopatra his wife, and perſuaded them to make him the high-prieſt of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jeruſalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have ſpoken of it frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the prieſthood three years, he died, and there was no one that ſucceeded him, that the city continued ſeven years without an high-prieſt; but then the poſterity of the ſons of Aſamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high-prieſt, who ruled over them ſeven years. And when he had been ſlain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related ſomewhere, Simon his brother took the high-prieſthood; and when he was deſtroyed at a feaſt by the treachery of his ſon-in-law, his own ſon whoſe name was Hyrcanus, ſucceeded him, after he had held the high-prieſthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the ſucceſſion to Judas who was alſo called Ariſtobulus, whoſe brother Alexander was his heir; which Judas died of a ſore diſtemper, after he had kept the prieſthood, together with the royal authority; for this Judas was the firſt that put on his head a diadem for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high-prieſt twenty-ſeven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that ſhould be high-prieſt; ſo ſhe gave the high-prieſthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herſelf nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her ſon Hyrcanus enjoy the high-prieſthood; for after her death his brother Ariſtobulus fought againſt him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality; and he did himſelf both reign, and perform the office of high-prieſt to God. But when he had reigned three years and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jeruſalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and ſent them to Rome. He alſo reſtored the high-prieſthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem.

This Hyrcanus ruled, beſides his firſt nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Parcorus, the generals of the Parthians, paſſed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus and took him alive, and made Antigonus the ſon of Ariſtobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Soſius and Herod beſieged him, and took him, when Antony had him brought to Antioch, and ſlain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high-prieſts out of the family of Aſamoneus; but made certain men to be ſo that were of no eminent families but barely of thoſe that were prieſts, excepting that he gave that dignity to Ariſtobulus; for when he had made this Ariſtobulus the grandſon of that Hyrcanus who was then taken by the Parthians, and had taken his ſiſter Mariamne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good-will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather.] Yet did he afterward, out of his fear leſt they ſhould all bend their inclinations to Ariſtobulus, put him to death, and that by contriving how to have him ſuffocated, as he was ſwimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter; but after this man he never intruſted the high-prieſthood to the poſterity of the ſons of Aſamoneus. Archelaus alſo, Herod's ſon, did like his father in the appointment of the high prieſts, as did the Romans alſo, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly the number of the high-prieſts, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple, and the city, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight; the time alſo that belonged to them was an hundred and ſeven years. Some of theſe were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his ſon, although after their death the government became an Ariſtocracy, and the high prieſts were intruſted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may ſuffice to be ſaid concerning our high-prieſts.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Florus the Procurator, who neceſſitated the Jews to take up Arms againſt the Romans. The concluſion.

§ 1. NOW Gaſſius Florus, who was ſent as ſucceſſor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miſeries. He was by birth of the city Clazomenæ, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra, (by whoſe friendſhip with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government,) who was no way different from him in wickedneſs. This Florus was ſo wicked, and ſo violent in the uſe of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor; ſo exceſſive were the miſchiefs that he brought upon

them. For Albinus concealed his wickedneſs, and was careful that it might not be diſcovered to all men; but Geſſius Florus, as though he had been ſent on purpoſe to ſhew his crimes to every body, made a pompous oſtentation of them to our nation, as never omitting any ſort of violence, nor any unjuſt ſort of puniſhment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was ſatisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way; nor had he any more regard to great than to ſmall acquiſitions, but became a partner with the robbers themſelves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their ſecurity, and depending on him, that he would ſave them harmleſs in their particular robberies; ſo that there were no bounds ſet to the nation's miſeries; but the unhappy Jews when they were not able to bear the devaſtations which the robbers made among them, were all under a neceſſity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more eaſily any where elſe in the world among foreigners, [than in their own country]. And what need I ſay any more upon this head? ſince it was this Florus who neceſſitated us to take up arms againſt the Romans, while we thought it better to be deſtroyed at once, than by little and little. Now this war began in the ſecond year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miſeries we were enabled to ſuffer, may be accurately known by ſuch as will peruſe thoſe books which I have written about the Jewiſh war.

2. I ſhall now, therefore, make an end here of Antiquities; after the concluſion of which events, I began to write that account of the war; and theſe Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what hath befallen the Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria, and in Paleſtine, and what we have ſuffered from the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Perſians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us; for I think I may ſay that I have compoſed this hiſtory with ſufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate thoſe high prieſts that we have had during the interval of two thouſand years: I have alſo carried down the ſucceſſion of our kings, and related their actions, and political adminiſtration, without [conſiderable] errors, as alſo the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our ſacred books; for this it was that I promiſed to do in the beginning of this hiſtory. And I am ſo bold as to ſay, now I have ſo completely perfected the work I propoſed to myſelf to do, that no other perſon whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, had he ever ſo great an inclination to it, could ſo accurately deliver theſe accounts to the Greeks as is done in theſe books. For thoſe of my own nation freely acknowledge, that I far exceed them in

the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life, while there is still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books and sixty thousand verses. And if God *permit me, I will briefly run over this war again, with what be-

* What Josephus here declares his *intention* to do, *if God permitted*, to give the public *again an abridgement of the Jewish War*, and to add *what befel them farther to that very day*, the 13th of Domitian, or A. D. 93, is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notice of by any: Nor do we ever hear of it elsewhere, whether he performed what he now intended or not. Some of the reasons of this design of his might possibly be his observation of the many errors he had been guilty of in the two first of those seven books of the war, which were written when he was comparatively young, and less acquainted with the Jewish antiquities than he now was, and in which abridgement we might have hoped to find those many passages which himself, as well as those several passages which others refer to, as written by him, but which are not extant in his present works. However, since many of his own references to what he had written elsewhere, as well as most of his own errors, belong to such early times as could not well come into this abridgement of the Jewish war; and since none of those that quote things not now extant in his works, including himself as well as others, ever cite any such abridgement, I am forced rather to suppose that he never did publish any such work at all; I mean as distinct from his own life, written by himself, for an appendix to these Antiquities, and this at least above seven years after these Antiquities were finished. Nor indeed does it appear to me, that Josephus ever published that other work here mentioned, as intended by him for the public also. I mean the three or four books *concerning God and his essence*, and concerning *the Jewish laws; why, according to them, some things were permitted the Jews, and others prohibited*; which last seems to be the same work which Josephus had also promised, *if God permitted*, at the conclusion of his preface to these Antiquities; nor do I suppose that he ever published any of them. The death of all his friends at court, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and the coming of those he had no acquaintance with to the crown, I mean Nerva and Trajan, together with his removal from Rome to Judea, with what followed it, might easily interrupt such his intentions, and prevent his publication of those works.

fel us therein to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Cæfar Domitian, and the fifty-fixth year of my own life. I have alſo an intention to write three books concerning our Jewiſh opinions about God, and his eſſence, and about our laws; why, according to them ſome things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

THE

LIFE

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

§ 1. THE family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath deſcended all along from the prieſts; and a nobility among ſeveral people is of a different origin, ſo with us to be of a ſacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the ſplendour of a family. Now I am not only ſprung from a ſacerdotal family in general, but from the firſt of the twenty-four * courſes; and as among us there is not only a conſiderable difference between one family of each courſe and another, I am of the chief family of that firſt courſe alſo; nay, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Aſamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high-prieſthood, and the dignity of a king for a long time together. I will accordingly ſet down my progenitors in order. My grand-father's father was named Simon, with the addition of Pſellus: He lived at the ſame time with that ſon of Simon the high prieſt, who firſt of all the high prieſts was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Pſellus had nine ſons, one of which was Matthias, called Ephlias; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high prieſt which Jonathan was the firſt of the ſons of Aſamoneus, who was high prieſt, and was the brother of Simon the high prieſt alſo. This Matthias had a ſon called Matthias Curtus, and that in the firſt year of the government of Hyrcanus; his ſon's name was Joſeph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra: His ſon

* We may hence correct the error of the Latin copy of the ſecond book againſt Apion, ſect. 7, 8 Vol. III (for the Greek is there loſt,) which ſays, there were then only four tribes or courſes of prieſts, inſtead of twenty-four. Nor is this teſtimony to be diſregarded, as if Joſephus there contradicted what he had affirmed here; becauſe even the account there given, better agrees to twenty-four than to four courſes, while he ſays that each of thoſe courſes contained above 5000 men, which multiplied by only four, will make not many more than 20,000 prieſts; whereas the number 120,000, as multiplied by 24, ſeems much the moſt probable, they being about one-tenth of the whole people, even after the captivity. See Ezra ii. 36—39. Nehem. vii. 39—42. 1 Eſd. v. 24, 25 with Ezra ii. 64. Nehem. vii. 66. 1 Eſd. v. 41. Nor will this common reading or notion of but four courſes of prieſts, agree with Joſephus's own farther aſſertion elſewhere, Antiq. B. VII. ch. xiv. ſect. 8 Vol. I. that David's partition of the prieſts into twenty-four courſes had continued to that day.

Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus: As was I born to Matthias on the firſt year of the reign of Caius Cæſar. I have three ſons; Hyrcanus the eldeſt, was born on the fourth year of the reign of Veſpaſian, as was Juſtus born on the ſeventh, and Agrippa on the ninth. Thus have I ſet down the genealogy of my family as I have found it deſcribed * in the public records, and ſo bid adieu to thoſe who calumniate me, [as of a lower original.]

2. Now my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had an higher commendation on account of his righteouſneſs, and was in great reputation in Jeruſalem, the greateſt city we have. I was myſelf brought up with my brother, whoſe name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and underſtanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high prieſts and principal men of the city, came then frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate underſtanding of points of the law. And when I was about ſixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the ſeveral ſects that were among us. Theſe ſects are three; the firſt is that of the Phariſees, the ſecond that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Eſſens, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that by this means I might chooſe the beſt, if I were once acquainted with them all: So I contented myſelf with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all†. Nor did I content myſelf with theſe trials only; but when I was informed that one whoſe name was Banus, lived in the deſart, and uſed no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himſelf in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preſerve his chaſtity, I imitated him in thoſe things, and continued with him three years†. So when I had accompliſhed my deſires, I returned

* An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their genealogies, eſpecially as to the prieſts. See Contr. Ap. B. I. ch. 7.

† When Joſephus here ſays, that from ſixteen to nineteen, or for three years he made trial of the three Jewiſh ſects, the Phariſees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſens, and yet ſays preſently, in all our copies, that he ſtayed beſides with one particular aſcetick, called *Banus*, παρ' αὐτῷ, *with him*, and this ſtill before he was nineteen, there is little room left for his trial of the three other ſects. I ſuppoſe therefore, that for παρ' αὐτῳ, *with him*, the old reading might be παρ' αὐτοῖς, *with them*; which is a very ſmall emendation, and takes away the difficulty before us. Nor is Dr. Hudſon's conjecture, hinted at by Mr. Hall, in his preface to the doctor's edition of Joſephus, at all improbable, that this Banus, by this his deſcription, might well be a follower of John the Baptiſt, and that from him Joſephus might eaſily imbibe ſuch notions, as afterward prepared him to have a favourable opinion about Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, who was atteſted to by John the Baptiſt.

back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3. But, when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put them in bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts*. Accordingly I came to Rome, though it were through a great number of hazards by sea; for, as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic sea, we that were in it being about six hundred in number†, swam for our lives all the night; when upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence, prevented the rest, and were taken up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped and was come to Dicearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known to Poppea, Cæsar's wife, and took care as soon as possible to intreat her to procure, that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun, and that there were a great many very much elevated in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavoured to put a stop to these tumultuous persons and persuaded them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not only in martial skill but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the dangers of the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with vehement exhorta-

* We may note here, that religious men among the Jews, or at least those that were priests, were sometimes asceticks also, and have Daniel and his companions in Babylon, Dan. i. 8—16 ate no flesh, but *figs and nuts*, &c. only. This was like the Σιτοφαγια, or sulfure diet of the Christian asceticks in Passion week. Constitut. V. 18.

† It hath been thought the number of Paul and his companions on shipboard, Acts xxvii. 38 which are 276 in our copies, are too many; whereas we find here that Josephus and his companions, a very few years after the other, were almost 600

tions, becauſe I foreſaw that the end of ſuch a war would be moſt unfortunate to us. But I could not perſuade them; for the madneſs of deſperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, leſt, by inculcating theſe things ſo often, I ſhould incur their hatred and their ſuſpicions, as if I were of our enemies party, and ſhould run into the danger of being ſeized by them and ſlain; ſince they were already poſſeſſed of Antonia, which was the citadel; ſo I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high prieſts and the chief of the Phariſees. But no ſmall fear ſeized upon us when we ſaw the people in arms, while we ourſelves knew not what we ſhould do, and were not able to reſtrain their ſeditions. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the ſame opinion with them, but only adviſed them to be quiet for the preſent, and to let the enemy go away, ſtill hoping, that Geſſius [Florus] would not be long ere he came, and that with great forces, and ſo put an end to theſe ſeditious proceedings.

6. But, upon his coming and fighting he was beaten, and a great many of thoſe that were with him fell. And this diſgrace [which Geſſius with Caſtius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation; for thoſe that were fond of the war were ſo far elevated with this ſucceſs, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occaſion was miniſtered; which was this, Thoſe that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria ſeized upon ſuch Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and ſlew them, when they had not the leaſt occaſion of complaint againſt them; for they did neither attempt any innovation or revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous deſigns towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the moſt impious and moſt highly criminal of all*; for, when the Jews their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms againſt their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do†; and when, by their aſſiſtance, they had joined battle with thoſe that attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory they forgot the aſſurances they had given theſe their fellow-citizens and confederates, and ſlew them all, being in number many ten thouſands [13,000]. The like miſeries were undergone by thoſe Jews that were the inhabi-

* See Of the War, B. II. ch. xviii. ſect. 3.

† The Jews might collect this unlawfulneſs of fighting againſt their brethren, from that law of Moſes, Levit. xix. 16. "Thou ſhalt not ſtand againſt the blood of thy neighbour;" and that, ver. 17. "Thou ſhalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge againſt the children of thy people; but thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf;" as well as from many other places in the Pentateuch and Prophets. See Antiq. B. VIII. ch. viii. ſect. 3. Vol. I.

tants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case afterward; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent me and two others of the priests, who were men of excellent characters, Jozar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson, that it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had, [then to be kept there;] for that it had been resolved, that those our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity, but still so, that they should wait too see what the Romans would do.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country, by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right-hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. But I delivered them almost of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius to Dora, which is a city of Phenicia, as often as they pleased; though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the occasion following:

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus, the son of Compeus (for as to Compeus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king * [Agrippa], he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions); all these persons before-named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans, and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son, Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution; otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of

* That this Herod Agrippa, the father, was of old called a *Great King*, as here appears by his coins still remaining; to which Havercamp refers us.

Piſtus who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really deſirous of innovation, as ſuppoſing, that he ſhould gain power to himſelf by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midſt of them, and endeavoured to inform the multitude, That "the city Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place, and that he had ordered that the city Sephoris ſhould be ſubordinate to the city Tiberias; that they had now loſt this pre-eminence even under Agrippa the father, but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea. But he told them, that now they had been ſo unfortunate as to be made a preſent by Nero to Agrippa junior; and that, upon Sepphori's ſubmiſſion of itſelf to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal treaſury and the archives were now removed from them." When he had ſpoken theſe things, and a great many more againſt Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a revolt, he added, That "this was the time for them to take arms, and join with the Galileans as their confederates (whom they might command, and who would now willingly aſſiſt them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris, becauſe they preſerved their fidelity to the Romans), and to gather a great number of forces in order to puniſh them." And, as he ſaid this, he exhorted the multitude [to go to war]; for his abilities lay in making harrangues to the people, and in being too hard in his ſpeeches for ſuch as oppoſed him, though they adviſed what was more to their advantage, and this by his craftineſs and his fallacies; for he was not unſkilful in the learning of the Greeks, and in dependence on that ſkill it was, that he undertook to write an hiſtory of theſe affairs, as aiming by this way of harranguing to diſguiſe the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct of life, and he and his brother were, in great meaſure, the authors of our deſtruction, I ſhall give the reader an account in the progreſs of my narration. So when Juſtus had by his perſuaſions, prevailed with the citizen of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great many ſo to do againſt their wills, he went out, and ſet the villages that belonged to Gadara, and Hippos on fire; which villages were ſituated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

10. And this was the ſtate Tiberias was now in. But as for Giſchala, its affairs were thus: When John, the ſon of Levi, ſaw ſome of the citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the Romans, he laboured to reſtrain them, and entreat them, that they would keep their alliance to them. But he could not gain his purpoſe, although he did his endeavours to the utmoſt; for the neighbouring people of Gadara, and Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Giſchala, and took Giſchala by force, and ſet it on fire;

and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people forementioned, and rebuilt Gischala after a manner better than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its alliance to the Romans for the reason following: Philip the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged; but, as he fled away, had fallen into another danger, and that was of being killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him; but certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth, having disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages to him belonging, but one that was situated at the borders of the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him. But God himself hindered that his intention, and this for his own advantage also; for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote letters to Agrippa and Bernice, and gave them to one of his freed-men to carry them to Varus, who at this time was procurator of the kingdom, which the king and his sister had intrusted them withal, while they were gone to Berytus with an intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said, that he spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freed man of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay; and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Cesarea, and had great expectations; for they said, that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their kings; for Varus was by the confession of all, of the royal family, as being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived also that the king should not meet with those writ-

kings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana; for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, that Varus hath heard, that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign, that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make a defence for them as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these seventy * went down to Cesarea, together with twelve * ambassadors; where Varus met them with the king's, and slew them all, together with the [twelve] ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana But one there was of the seventy who escaped and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala; and, when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cesarea, being many ten thousands with their wives and children and all in one day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

12. Now as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things by the information of such as told me

* The famous Jewish numbers of twelve and seventy are here remarkable.

of them, I wrote to the ſanhedrim at Jeruſalem about them, and required their direction what I ſhould do. Their direction was, that I ſhould continue there, and that, if my fellow-legates were willing, I ſhould join with them in the care of Galilee. But thoſe my fellow legates having gotten great riches from thoſe tythes which as prieſts were their dues, and were given to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I deſired them to ſtay ſo long, that we might firſt ſettle the public affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sephoris, and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs diſtant from Tiberias; and thence I ſent meſſengers to the ſenate of Tiberias, and deſired that the principal men of the city would come to me: And when they were come, Juſtus himſelf being alſo with them, I told them, that I was ſent to them by the people of Jeruſalem as a legate, together with theſe other prieſts, in order to perſuade them to demoliſh that houſe which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws have forbidden us to make any ſuch figures; and I deſired, that they would give us leave ſo to do immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal men belonging to the city, would not give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jeſus the ſon of Sapphias, one of thoſe whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a ſeditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and ſet the entire palace on fire, and thought he ſhould get a great deal of money thereby, becauſe he ſaw ſome of the roofs gilt with gold. They alſo plundered a great deal of the furniture, which was done without our approbation; for, after we had diſcourſed Capellus and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into the upper Galilee. But Jeſus and his party ſlew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

13. When I underſtood this ſtate of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from ſuch as had plundered it. They conſiſted of candleſticks made of Corinthian braſs, and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined ſilver: And I reſolved to preſerve whatſoever came to my hand for the king. So I ſent for ten of the principal men of the ſenate, and for Capellus the ſon of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, that they ſhould part with it to nobody elſe but to myſelf. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Giſchala to John, as deſirous to know his intentions, and ſoon ſaw that he was for innovations, and had a

mind to the principality; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Cæsar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavoured at, and what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him so to do; for that I thought either to keep it for the Romans, or for myself, now was I intrusted with the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But when he was not able to prevail with me he betook himself to my fellow-legates; for they had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them with money to decree, that all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; while I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance of his; for he said, that those Jews who inhabited Cesarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to desire him, that, since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain; for he knew, that two sextaries were sold with them of Cesarea for one drachmæ, but that at Gischala four-score sextaries were sold for four sextaries. So he gave order, that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow-legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And, when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them, it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to be forced to [illegible]ok them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbours that lay round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes; and

with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I endeavoured not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in these determinations.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious, although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and, as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem; although when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberius four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] either him or any of the people fore-named, as the progress of this discourse will shew. And on this account I suppose it was that God*, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterward preserved me, when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot-baths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly I did not hinder him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias, by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him and should procure him what necessaries soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named *Cana*.

17. But, when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions: But they were

* Our Josephus shews both here and every where, that he was a most religious person, and one that had a deep sense of God and his providence upon his mind, and ascribed all his numerous and wonderful escapes and preservations, in times of danger, to God's blessing him, and taking care of him, and this on account of his acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity to the Jews his brethren.

chiefly Juſtus and his father Piſtus, that were earneſt in their revolt from me, and their adherance to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a meſſenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have ſaid already, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and adviſed me to make haſte thither; for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's juriſdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night, having ſent before a meſſenger to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me; and John came with them, and ſaluted me, but in a moſt diſturbed manner, as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what I was now ſenſible he was doing. So he in great haſte, went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having diſmiſſed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a ſpeech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias; and, ſtanding on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be ſo haſty in their revolt; for that ſuch a change in their behaviour would be to their reproach, and that they would then juſtly be ſuſpected by thoſe that ſhould be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

18. But, before I had ſpoken all I deſigned, I heard one of my own domeſtics bidding me come down; for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good-will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own ſafety, and eſcape my enemies there; for John had choſen the moſt truſty of thoſe armed men that were about him out of thoſe thouſand that he had with him, and had given them orders, when he ſent them to kill me, having learned that I was alone excepting ſome of my domeſtics. So thoſe that were ſent came as they were ordered, and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I ſtood on, and with one of my guards, whoſe name was James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake where I ſeized a ſhip, and got into it, and eſcaped my enemies unexpectedly, and came to Taricheæ.

19. Now as ſoon as the inhabitants of that city underſtood the perfidiouſneſs of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they ſnatched up their arms, and deſired me to be their leader againſt them; for they ſaid they would avenge their commander's cauſe upon them. They alſo carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavoured to irritate them againſt the people of Tiberias. and deſired that vaſt numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in

concert with their commander what ſhould be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly the Galileans came to me in great numbers, from all parts with their weapons, and beſought me to aſſault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demoliſh it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make ſlaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Thoſe that were Joſephus's friends alſo, and had eſcaped out of Tiberias, gave him the ſame advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them; for I thought, that this contention ought not to proceed farther than words: Nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we ſhould deſtroy one another by our mutual ſeditions. And by ſaying this, I put a ſtop to the anger of the Galileans.

20. But now John was afraid for himſelf, ſince his treachery had proved unſucceſsful. So he took the armed men that were about him, and removed from Tiberias to Giſchala, and wrote to me to apologize for himſelf concerning what had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and deſired me to have no ſuſpicion of him to his diſadvantage. He alſo added oaths and certain horrible curſes upon himſelf, and ſuppoſed he ſhould be thereby believed in the points he wrote about to me.

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how ſadly perjured he was, and deſired me to lead them againſt him, and promiſed me that they would utterly deſtroy both him and Giſchala. Hereupon I profeſſed, that I was obliged to them for their readineſs to ſerve me, and that I would more than requite that their good will to me. However I entreated them to reſtrain themſelves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to theſe troubles without bloodſhed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do ſo, I came to Sepphoris

22. But the inhabitants of this city having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me, that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly they ſent to Jeſus the captain of thoſe robbers who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promiſed to give him a great deal of money, if he would come with thoſe forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly he complied with what they deſired, upon the promiſes they had made him, and was deſirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming before hand. So he ſent to me and deſired that I would give him leave to come and ſalute me. When I had given him that leave which

I did without the leaſt knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made haſte to come to me. Yet did not this his knavery ſucceed well at laſt; for, as he was already nearly approaching, one of thoſe with him deſerted him, and come to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpoſe. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as alſo ſome of thoſe of Tiberias; and, when I had given orders that all the roads ſhould be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but Jeſus, when he came with the principal of his men, and to exclude the reſt; and in caſe they aimed to force themſelves in, to uſe ſtripes [in order to repel them Accordingly, thoſe that had received ſuch a charge did as they were bidden, and Jeſus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refuſed ſo to do, he was a dead man, he ſeeing armed men ſtanding all round about him, was terrified, and complied; and as for thoſe of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was ſeized, they ran away. I then called Jeſus to me by himſelf, and told him, that "I was not a ſtranger to that treacherous deſign he had againſt me, nor was I ignorant by whom he was ſent for; that however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And thus, upon his promiſe to do all that I deſired, I let him go, and gave him leave to get thoſe whom he had formerly had with him, together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that, if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would puniſh them ſufficiently.

23 At this time it was that two great men, who were under the juriſdiction of the king [Agrippa,] came to me out of the region of Trachonitis, bringing their horſes and their arms, and carrying with them their money alſo; and when the Jews would force them to be circumciſed, if they would ſtay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but * ſaid to them, "Every one ought to worſhip God according to his own inclinations, and not to be conſtrained by force; and that theſe men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be ſo treated as to repent of their coming hither." And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatſoever it was

* Joſephus's opinion is here well worth noting, that every one is to be permitted to worſhip God according to his own conſcience, and is not to be compelled in matters of religion: As one may here obſerve, on the contrary, that the reſt of the Jews were ſtill for obliging all thoſe who married Jews to be circumciſed, and become Jews, and were ready to deſtroy all that would not ſubmit to do ſo. See Geſt. 31. and Luke ix. 54.

they wanted, according to their uſual way of living, and that in great plenty alſo.

24. Now king Agrippa ſent an army to make themſelves maſters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equicolus Modius; but the forces that were ſent were not enow to encompaſs the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places, and beſieged it. But when Ebutius the decurion, who was intruſted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village ſituated in the confines of Galilee, and was diſtant from him ſixty furlongs, he took an hundred horſemen that were with him by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibea along with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over againſt him, which had a great number of forces in it; but Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending on his horſemen; but we would not come down; for when I was ſatisfied of the advantage that his horſe would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I reſolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Ebutius and his party made a courageous oppoſition for ſome time; but when he ſaw that his horſe were uſeleſs to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibea, having loſt three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly, with two thouſand armed men; and when I was at the city Beſara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Nibea where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outſide of the village, and gave orders that they ſhould guard the paſſes with great care, that the enemy might not diſturb us, until we ſhould have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there: It belonging to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring villages into Beſara: So I loaded my camels and aſſes, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and ſent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle; but when he would not accept of the offer for he was terrified at our readineſs and courage, I altered my route, and marched towards Neopolitanus, becauſe I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waſte by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horſe, and had the cuſtody of Scythopolis intruſted to his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from doing any farther miſchief to Tiberias, I ſet myſelf to make proviſion for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the ſon of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Giſchala, was informed how all things had ſucceeded to my mind, and that I was much in favour with thoſe that were under me; as alſo that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleaſed with it, as thinking my proſperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter envy and

enmity againſt me; and hoping, that if he could inflame thoſe that were under me to hate me, he ſhould put an end to the proſperity I was in, he tried to perſuade the inhabitants of Tiberias, and of Sepphoris (and for thoſe of Gabara he ſuppoſed they would be alſo of the ſame mind with the others,) which were the greateſt cities of Galilee, to revolt from their ſubjection to me, and to be of his party; and told them, that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, becauſe they had choſen to be in ſubjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his propoſal; and for thoſe of Tiberias, they did not indeed ſo far comply, as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was Simon that perſuaded them ſo to do, one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John. It is true, theſe did not openly own the making a revolt, becauſe they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay ſnares for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greateſt danger, on the occaſion following.

26. There were ſome bold young men of the village Dabaritta, who obſerved that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progreſs over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with ſome horſemen that followed as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was ſubject to the king and queen, into the juriſdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on the ſudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They alſo came to me to Tarichеæ, with four mules loading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the ſilver they brought was not ſmall, and there were five hundred pieces of gold alſo. Now I had a mind to preſerve theſe ſpoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited * us by our laws even to ſpoil our enemies; ſo I ſaid to thoſe that brought theſe ſpoils, that they ought to be kept in order to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem with them, when they came to be ſold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part

* How Joſephus could ſay here that the Jewiſh laws forbade them to "ſpoil even their enemies," while yet, a little before his time, our Saviour had mentioned it as then a current maxim with them, "Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy," Matt. v. 43. is worth our inquiry. I take it that Joſephus, having been now for many years an Ebionite Chriſtian, had learned this interpretation of the law of Moſes from Chriſt, whom he owned for the true Meſſiah, as it follows in the ſucceeding verſes, which, though he might not read in St. Matthew's goſpel, yet might he have read much the ſame expoſition in their own Ebionite or Nazarene goſpel itſelf; of which improvements made by Joſephus, after he was become a Chriſtian, we have already had ſeveral examples in this his life, ſect. 3, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23, and ſhall have many more therein before its concluſion, as well as we have them elſewhere in all his latter writings.

of thoſe ſpoils for themſelves, as they expected to have done; ſo they went among the villages, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people, that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, and that I uſed deceitful language to them, when I ſaid, that what had been thus gotten by rapine ſhould be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jeruſalem; although I had reſolved to reſtore theſe ſpoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not miſtaken as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I ſent for two of the principal men, Daſſion, and Janneus the ſon of Levi, perſons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered and to ſend it to him; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death by way of puniſhment, if they diſcovered this my command to any other perſon.

27. Now when all Galilee was filled with this rumour, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exaſperated againſt me, and ready to bring me to puniſhment, the inhabitants of Tarichæ did alſo themſelves ſuppoſe that what the young men ſaid was true, and perſuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was aſleep, and to come preſently to the hippodrome, in order there to take counſel againſt me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company aſſembled already, who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was ſo wicked to them as to betray them, to his due puniſhment; and it was Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphias, who principally ſet them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally diſpoſed to make diſturbances in matters of conſequence; a ſeditious perſon he was indeed, and an innovator beyond every body elſe. He then took the laws of Moſes into his hands, came into the midſt of the people, and ſaid, "O my fellow-citizens, if you are not diſpoſed to hate Joſephus on your own account, have regard however to theſe laws of your country, which your commander in chief is going to betray; hate him therefore on both theſe accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus inſolently to his deſerved puniſhment."

28. When he had ſaid this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for what he had ſaid, he took ſome of the armed men, and made haſte away to the houſe in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly inſenſible of all till this diſturbance happened; and by reaſon of the pains I had been taking, was fallen faſt aſleep. But Simon, who was intruſted with the care of my body, and was the only perſon that ſtayed with me, and ſaw the violent incurſion the citizens made upon me, he awaked me, and told me of the danger I was in, and deſired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely and like a general, before my enemies came

in, and forced me [to kill myself,] or killed me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me; but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me; so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears: Then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions, before the armed men should return from my house; so I granted them, that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be; but still I entreated them, to let me first inform them for what use I had kept the money which arose from the plunder, and that they might then kill me if they pleased: And upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me; but when the multitude bid them hold their hands, they complied, and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

29. When therefore silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them; "O my countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die; for as I know that this city of yours [Taricheæ] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers cried out, That "they gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage." Although the Galileans, and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bid me not to regard them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my owe house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also

30. However, these robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account, left I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger,

and to act with some boldness; so I gave orders to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send some of their men in to receive the money [from the spoils]; for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they stayed there; for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves, so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treacherous design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said, that those great men that belonged to the king, ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety: They spake reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were wizards*, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretences as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those that fled to them for refuge out not to be persecuted: I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft*, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while; but they returned afterward, as irritated by some ill people, against the great men; nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tarichæ, in order to kill them; which, when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and no body else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself and some others with me to the house where these great men lived, and locked their doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos: I also paid them the value of their horses, nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which befel them. I was also myself greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the

* Here we may observe the vulgar Jewish notions of witchcraft; but that our Josephus was too wise to give any countenance to it.

country that was under my jurisdiction. However they escaped at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be guard to their country; for that they were desirous to come over to him: This was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do; for they had heard that the walls of Taricheæ were already built; I agreed to the proposal accordingly. And when I had made preparation for the intire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Taricheæ, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me; upon hearing which news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent away my armed men from Taricheæ to their own homes, because the next day was our Sabbath; for I would not have the people of Taricheæ disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do; for to send to recal my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over, and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbid us so to do, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed those my friends of Taricheæ, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates; I also called to me the heads of families, and bid every one of them to seize upon a ship *, to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those

* In this section, as well as sect. 18. and sect. 33. those small vessels that sailed on the sea of Galilee, are called by Josephus Ναῦς, and Πλοῖα, and σκάφη, i. e. plainly *ships*; so that we need not wonder at our Evangelists, who still call them

ſhips, with my friends, and the ſeven armed men already mentioned, and ſailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet ſaw the whole lake full of ſhips, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as ſuppoſing that the ſhips were full of men on board; ſo they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me, with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inblinations [to have been againſt me]; ſo they perſuaded me to ſpare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the maſters of the ſhips to caſt anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ſhips had no men on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ſhips, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were ſo fickle as, without any juſt occaſion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I aſſured them, that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would ſend ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this propoſal, and ſent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ſhip, and ſent them away to Tarichеæ, and ordered them to be kept in priſon.

34. And by this ſtratagem it was, that I gradually got all the ſenate of Tiberias into my power, and ſent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populous, and thoſe not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude ſaw into what great miſeries they had brought themſelves, they deſired me to puniſh the author of this ſedition: His name was *Clitus*, a young man, bold and raſh in his undertakings. Now ſince I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it neceſſary to puniſh them, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this, was afraid to go out of the ſhip alone, among ſo great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorouſneſs of the ſoldier ſhould appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himſelf, and ſaid to him, "Since thou deſerveſt to looſe both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, leſt, if thou refuſeſt ſo to be, thou undergo a worſe puniſhement." And when he earneſtly begged of me to ſpare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So in order to prevent the loſs of both his hands, he willingly took his ſword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the ſedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Tarichеæ,

ſhips; nor ought we to render them *boats*, as ſome do. Their number was in all 230, as we learn from our author elſewhere, Of the War, B. II. ch. xxi. ſect. 8.

perceived what ſtratagem I had uſed againſt them, and they admired how I had put an end to their fooliſh ſedition, without ſhedding of blood But now, when I had ſent for ſome of thoſe multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of priſon, among whom were Juſtus and his father Piſtus, I made them to ſup with me; and during our ſupper time I ſaid to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was ſuperior to all others, but did not ſay ſo [publicly] becauſe of the robbers. So I adviſed them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneaſy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would uſe the like moderation that I had done. I alſo put Juſtus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands, before ever I came to Jeruſalem, upon an accuſation laid againſt him as if he had been a rogue, and had forged ſome letters; as alſo how the people of Gamala, in a ſedition they raiſed againſt the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, ſlew Chares, who was a kinſman of Philip, and withal how they had wiſely puniſhed Jeſus, his brother Juſtus's ſiſter's huſband [with death.] When I had ſaid this to them during ſupper-time, I in the morning ordered Juſtus, and all the reſt that were in priſon, to be looſed out of it, and ſent away.

36. But before this it happened that Philip, the ſon of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occaſion: When Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Modius Equicolus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to ſucceed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and deſired him to forward the letters he ſent to the king and queen. Now when Modius had received theſe letters, he was exceeding glad, and ſent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the ſtory about Philip was falſe (for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war,) he ſent ſome horſemen to conduct Philip to him, and, when he was come, he ſaluted him very obligingly, and ſhewed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He alſo bid him to take ſome horſemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domeſtics, and to reſtore the Babylonians to Batanea again. He alſo gave it him in charge to take all poſſible care that none of his ſubjects ſhould be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon theſe directions from the king, he made haſte to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was one Joſeph, the ſon of a female phyſician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He alſo inſolently addreſſed himſelf to the principal perſons

at Gamala, and perſuaded them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they ſhould, by his means, recover their liberty. And ſome they forced into the ſervice, and thoſe that would not acquieſce in what they had reſolved on, they ſlew. They alſo ſlew Chares, and with him Jeſus, one of his kinſmen and a brother of Juſtus of Tiberias, as we have already ſaid. Thoſe of Gamala alſo wrote to me, deſiring me to ſend them an armed force, and workmen to raiſe up the walls of their city; nor did I reject either of their requeſts. The region of Gaulanitis did alſo revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I alſo built a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally of very great ſtrength. Moreover I, in like manner, walled ſeveral villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themſelves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabare. I alſo fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Tarichæ, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages, the Cave of Arbela, Berſobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecchо, and Sigo, and Japha, and Mount Tabor*. I alſo laid up a great quantity of corn in theſe places, and arms withal, that might be for their ſecurity afterward.

38. But the hatred that John the ſon of Levi bore to me grew now more violent, while he could not bear my proſperity with patience. So he propoſed to himſelf, by all means poſſible to make away with me, and built the walls of Giſchala, which was the place of his nativity. He then ſent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the ſon of Siſenna, and about an hundred armed men to Jeruſalem to Simon the ſon of Gamaliel†, in order to perſuade him to induce the commonality of Jeruſalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their ſuffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city Jeruſalem, and of a very noble family, of the ſect of the Phariſees, which are ſuppoſed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wiſdom and reaſon, and capable of reſtoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill poſture. He was alſo an old friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received ſuch an exhortation, he perſuaded the high prieſts, Ananus and Jeſus the ſon of Gamala, and ſome others of the ſame ſeditious faction, to cut me down now I was growing ſo great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myſelf to the height of glo-

* Part of theſe fortifications on Mount Tabor may be thoſe ſtill remaining, and which were ſeen lately by Mr. Maundrel. See his Travels, p. 112.

† This Gamaliel may be the very ſame that is mentioned by the rabbins in the Miſhna in Juchaſin and in Porta Moſis, as is obſerved in the Latin notes. He might be alſo that Gamaliel II. whoſe grandfather was Gamaliel I. who is mentioned Acts v. 34. and at whoſe feet St. Paul *was brought up*. Acts xxii 3. See Prid. at the year 449.

ry ; and he ſaid, that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus alſo, and his friends deſired them to make no delay about the matter, leſt I ſhould get the knowledge of what was doing too ſoon, and ſhould come and make an aſſault upon the city with a great army. This was the counſel of Simon ; but Ananus the high prieſt demonſtrated to them, that this was not an eaſy thing to be done, becauſe many of the high prieſts and of the rulers of the people bore witneſs that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuſe one againſt whom they had nothing to ſay.

39. When Simon heard Ananus ſay this, he deſired that the meſſengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many ; for that he would take care to have Joſephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother [Simon,] and charged him, that they ſhould ſend preſents to Ananus and his friends ; for, as he ſaid, they might probably by that means perſuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compaſs what he aimed at ; for Ananus, and thoſe with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the reſt of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly they reſolved to ſend men of diſtinction as to their families, and of diſtinction as to their learning alſo. Two of theſe were of the populace, Jonathan * and Ananias, by ſect of Phariſees ; while the third, Jozar, was of the ſtock of the prieſts, and a Phariſee alſo ; and Simon, the laſt of them, was of the youngeſt of the high prieſts. Theſe had it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they ſhould aſk them what was the reaſon of their love to me ? and if they ſaid, that it was becauſe I was born at Jeruſalem, that they ſhould reply, that they four were all born at the ſame place ; and if they ſhould ſay, it was becauſe I was well verſed in their law, they ſhould reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country ; but if, beſides theſe, they ſhould ſay, they loved me becauſe I was a prieſt, they ſhould reply, that two of theſe were prieſts alſo.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions theſe inſtructions, they gave them forty thouſand [drachmæ] out of the public money : But when they heard that there was a certain Galilean that then ſojourned at Jeruſalem, whoſe name was Jeſus, who had about him a band of ſix hundred armed men, they ſent for him, and gave him three months pay, and gave him orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They alſo gave money to three hundred men that were citizens of Jeruſalem, to maintain

* This Jonathan is alſo taken notice of in the Latin notes, as the ſame that is mentioned by the rabbins in Porta Moſis.

them all, and ordered them alſo to follow the ambaſſadors; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, having along with them John's brother, and an hundred armed men. The charge that was given them by thoſe that ſent them was this, that if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they ſhould ſend me alive to the city Jeruſalem, but that, in caſe I oppoſed them, they ſhould kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their command for them ſo to do. They alſo wrote to John to make all ready for fighting me, and gave order to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Gabara, and Tiberias, to ſend auxiliaries to John.

41. Now as my father wrote me an account of this, (for Jeſus the ſon of Gamala, who was preſent in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it,) I was very much troubled, as diſcovering thereby, that my fellow citizens proved ſo ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I ſhould be ſlain; my father earneſtly preſſed me alſo in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to ſee his ſon before he died. I informed my friends of theſe things, and that in three days time I ſhould leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this they were all very ſorry, and deſired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be deſtroyed; for ſo they thought they ſhould be, if I were deprived of the command over them: But as I did not grant their requeſt, but was taking care of my own ſafety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the conſequence of my departure, that they ſhould then be at the mercy of the robbers, ſent meſſengers over all Galilee to inform them of my reſolution to leave them. Whereupon, as ſoon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account; for, while I ſtaid with them, they ſuppoſed that they ſhould ſuffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was *Aſochis*.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I ſaw that very night; for when I had betaken myſelf to my bed, as grieved and diſturbed at the news that had been written to me, it ſeemed to me, that a certain perſon ſtood by me *, and ſaid, "O Joſephus! leave off to afflict thy ſoul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very conſiderable, and in all reſpects moſt happy; for thou ſhalt get over not only theſe difficulties, but many others, with great ſucceſs. However, be not caſt down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had ſeen this dream, I got up

* This I take to be the firſt of Joſephus's remarkable or divine dreams, which were predictive of the great things that afterward came to paſs: Of which ſee more in the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. viii. ſect. 9 Vol. I. The other is in the War, B. III. ch. viii. ſect. 3, 9. Vol. III.

with an intention of going down to the plain. Now when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, ſaw me, they threw themſelves down upon their faces, and with tears in their eyes, beſought me not to leave them expoſed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit their country to be injured by them. But, when I did not comply with their intreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would ſtay with them: They alſo caſt abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jeruſalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and ſaw what ſorrow the people were in, I was moved with compaſſion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the moſt manifeſt hazards for the ſake of ſo great a multitude; ſo I let them know I would ſtay with them. And when I had given order that five thouſand of them ſhould come to me armed, and with proviſions for their maintenance, I ſent the reſt away to their own homes; and, when thoſe five thouſand were come, I took them, together with three thouſand of the ſoldiers that were with me before, and eighty horſemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, ſituated in the confines of Ptolemais, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horſemen, and was ſent thither by Ceſtius Gallus to burn thoſe villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whoſe caſting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I alſo pitched my camp at about the diſtance of ſixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would fight, but proceeded no farther than ſkirmiſhes at a diſtance; for, when Placidus perceived that I was earneſt to come to battle, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow-legates came. They were ſent as we have ſaid already, by Simon, and Ananus the high-prieſt. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery; for he durſt not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epiſtle: "Jonathan and thoſe that are with him, and are ſent by the people of Jeruſalem, to Joſephus, ſend greeting. We are ſent by the principal men of Jeruſalem, who have heard that John of Giſchala hath laid many ſnares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be ſubject to thee hereafter. We are alſo deſirous to conſult with thee about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We therefore deſire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee; for this village will not contain a great number of ſoldiers." Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of theſe two things, either that I ſhould come without armed men, and then they ſhould have me under their power; or if I came with a great number, they ſhould judge me to be

a public enemy. Now it was an horſeman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had ſerved in the army under the king. It was the ſecond hour of the night that he came, when I was feaſting with my friends, and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my ſervant's telling me, that a certain horſeman of the Jewiſh nation was come, he was called in at my command, but did not ſo much as ſalute me at all, but held out a letter, and ſaid, "This letter is ſent thee by thoſe that are come from Jeruſalem. Do thou write an anſwer to it quickly; for I am obliged to return to them very ſoon." Now my gueſts could not but wonder at the boldneſs of the ſoldier. But I deſired him to ſit down and ſup with us; but when he refuſed ſo to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell talking with my gueſts about other matters. But a few hours afterwards I got up, and when I had diſmiſſed the reſt to go to their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to ſtay, and ordered my ſervant to get ſome wine ready. I alſo opened the letter ſo, that no body could perceive it; and underſtanding thereby preſently the purport of the writing, I ſealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet read it but only held it my hands. I ordered twenty drachmæ ſhould be given the ſoldier for the charges of his journey; and when he took the money, and ſaid he thanked me for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means, and I ſaid to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou ſhalt have a drachmæ for every glaſs thou drinkeſt." So he gladly embraced the propoſal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was ſo drunk, that at laſt he could not keep the ſecrets he was intruſted with but diſcovered them without my putting queſtions to him, *viz.* that a treacherous deſign was contrived againſt me, and that I was doomed to die by thoſe that ſent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this anſwer: "Joſephus, to Jonathan and thoſe that are with him, ſendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this eſpecially becauſe I can now reſign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country; which is what I have deſired to do a great while: And I confeſs I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without your commands. But I deſire you to excuſe me, becauſe I cannot do it now, ſince I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you therefore on the receipt of this epiſtle, come hither to me. Fare you well."

45 When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the ſoldier, I ſent along with them thirty of the Galileans of the beſt characters, and gave them inſtructions to ſalute thoſe ambaſſadors, but to ſay nothing elſe to them. I alſo gave orders to as many of thoſe armed men, whom I eſ-

teemed moſt faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard, leſt ſome converſation might paſs between thoſe whom I ſent and thoſe that were with Jonathan. So thoſe men went [to Jonathan]. But when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their firſt attempt, they ſent me another letter, the contents whereof were as follows: "Jonathan and thoſe with him to Joſephus, ſend greeting. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou haſt to lay to the charge of John [of Giſchala]." When they had written this letter, they ſaluted the Galileans whom I ſent, and came to Japha, which was the largeſt village of all Galilee, and encompaſſed with very ſtrong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men with their wives and children, met them and exclaimed loudly againſt them, and deſired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With theſe clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durſt not ſhew their anger openly: So they made him no anſwer, but went to other villages. But ſtill the ſame clamours met them from all the people who ſaid, "No body ſhould perſuade them to have any other commander beſides Joſephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without ſucceſs, and came to Sepphoris, the greateſt city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city who inclined to the Romans in their ſentiments, met them indeed but neither praiſed nor reproached me; and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Aſochis, the people of that place made a clamour againſt them, as thoſe of Japha had done. Whereupon they were able to contain themſelves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat thoſe that made the clamour with ther clubs. And when they came to Gabara John met them, with three thouſand armed men; but, as I underſtood by their letter, that they had reſolved to fight againſt me, I aroſe from Chabolo, with three thouſand armed men alſo, but left in my camp one of my faſteſt friends, and came to Jotapata, as deſirous to be near them, the diſtance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them: "If you are very deſirous that I ſhould come to you, you know there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee, I will come to any of them which you pleaſe, excepting Gabara and Giſchala; the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendſhip with him."

46 When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote to me no more anſwers, but called a council of their friends together, and taking John into their conſultation, they took counſel together by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they ſhould write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee; for that there muſt

be certainly one or two perſons in every one of them that are at variance with me, and that they be invited to come to oppoſe me as an enemy. He would alſo have them ſend this reſolution of theirs to the city Jeruſalem, that its citizens upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themſelves alſo confirm that determination. He ſaid alſo, that when this was done, even thoſe Galileans who were affected to me, would deſert me out of fear. When John had given them this counſel, what he had ſaid was very agreeable to the reſt of them. I was alſo made acquainted with theſe affairs about the third hour of the night, by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them, but now deſerted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; ſo I perceived that no time was to be loſt. Accordingly I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I eſteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men and to guard the paſſages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to ſeize upon the paſſengers, and ſend them to me, eſpecially ſuch as were caught with letters about them: I alſo ſent Jeremias himſelf, one of my friends with ſix hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jeruſalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of ſuch as travelled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to ſend me the letters.

47. When I had laid theſe commands upon them, I gave them orders, and bid them to take their arms and bring three days proviſion with them, and be with me the next day. I alſo parted thoſe that were about me into four parts, and ordained thoſe of them that were moſt faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I alſo ſet over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a ſoldier which they did not know ſhould mingle himſelf among them. Now on the fifth day following, when I was in Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to aſſiſt me: Many others of the multitude alſo, out of the village ran along with me. But as ſoon as I had taken my place, and began to ſpeak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and ſaviour of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgements, and thanked them [for their affection to me,] I alſo adviſed them to fight * with no body, nor to ſpoil the country; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their ſuſtenance they had brought with them; for I told them I had a mind to compoſe theſe troubles without ſhedding any blood. Now it

* Joſephus's directions to his ſoldiers here are much the ſame that John the Baptiſt gave, Luke iii. 14. "Do violence to no man, neither accuſe any falſely, and be content with your wages." Whence Dr. Hudſon confirms this conjecture, that Joſephus, in ſome things, was, even now, a follower of John the Baptiſt, which is no way improbable. See the note on ſect. 2.

came to pass that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads; so the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men, without saying a word of these matters to any body.

48. Now as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel; so they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which they kept open, and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let no body besides me come in, but should exclude others; as supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power: But they were deceived in their expectation; for I perceived what snares they had laid for me. Now as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so Jonathan and his party thinking that I was really asleep, and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise; for upon their appearance there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor; and they made a clamour against Jonathan and his partners, for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and as though they would overturn their happy settlement; and desired them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them; I went, therefore, myself down presently to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation by them, who confessed their thanks was owing to me for my good government of them.

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on my account; so they contrived how they might run away. But as they were not able to get off for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered therefore the multitude to restrain entirely their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpectedly fall upon us; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden insult should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their [former] letter, and after what

manner they had written to me, and declared they were ſent by the common conſent of the people of Jeruſalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had deſired me to come to them; and as I ſpake thus, I publicly ſhewed that letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done, the letter itſelf convicting them. I then ſaid, "O Jonathan, and you that are ſent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behaviour, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two * or three witneſſes, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to diſcharge the accuſations: That therefore you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witneſſes too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; ſo I gave you all theſe for witneſſes. Inquire of them † how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myſelf with all decency, and after a virtuous manner among them. And I farther conjure you, O Galileans, to hide no part of the truth, but to ſpeak before theſe men as before judges, whether I have in any thing acted otherwiſe than well."

50. While I was thus ſpeaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor and ſaviour, and atteſted to my former behaviour, and exhorted me to continue ſo to do hereafter; and they all ſaid, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preſerved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the Galileans two of thoſe epiſtles which had been ſent by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which thoſe whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and ſent to me. Theſe were full of reproaches, and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor againſt them, with many other things beſides therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falſities. I alſo informed the multitude how I came by theſe letters, and that thoſe who carried them delivered them up voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies ſhould know any thing of the guards I had ſet, leſt they ſhould be afraid, and leave off writing hereafter.

51. When the multitude heard theſe things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them and kill them; and this

* We here learn the practice of the Jews, in the days of Joſephus, to enquire into the characters of witneſſes, before they were admitted, and that their number ought to be three, or two at the leaſt, alſo exactly as in the law of Moſes, and in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, B. II. ch. 37. See Horeo Covenant Revived, p. 97, 98.

† This appeal to the whole body of the Galileans by Joſephus, and the teſtimony they gave him of integrity in his conduct, as their governor, is very like that appeal and teſtimony in the caſe of the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 1—5 and perhaps was done by Joſephus in imitation of him.

they had certainly done, unleſs I had reſtrained the anger of the Galileans, and ſaid, That "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was paſt, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell thoſe who ſent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I had ſaid this, I let them go, although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promiſed. But the multitude were very much enraged againſt them, and entreated me to give them leave to puniſh them for their inſolence; yet did I try all methods to perſuade them to ſpare the men; for I knew that every inſtance of ſedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude was too angry with them to be diſſuaded, and all of them went immediately to the houſe in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be reſtrained, I got on horſe-back, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara; and by uſing this ſtratagem, I ſo managed myſelf, as not to appear to begin civil war amongſt them.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I cauſed the multitude to make an holt, and exhorted them not to be ſo eaſily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting ſuch puniſhments as could not be afterwards recalled: I alſo gave order, that an hundred men, who were already in years, and were principal men among them, ſhould get themſelves ready to go to the city Jeruſalem, and ſhould make a complaint before the people, of ſuch as raiſed ſeditions in the country. And I ſaid to them, that "in caſe they be moved with what you ſay, you ſhall deſire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had ſuggeſted theſe inſtructions to them, and while they were getting themſelves ready as faſt as they could, I ſent them on this errand the third day after they had been aſſembled: I alſo ſent five hundred armed men with them [as a guard]. I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might ſafely paſs through the country: For Samaria was already under the Romans, and it was abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe that go quickly [to Jeruſalem], to paſs through that country; for in that road you may, in three days time, go from Galilee to Jeruſalem. I alſo went myſelf, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and ſet guards in the roads, that it might not be eaſily known by any one that theſe men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues having failed of accompliſhing what they would have done againſt me, they ſent John back to Giſchala, but went themſelves to the city Tiberias, expecting it would ſubmit itſelf to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jeſus, their then governor, had written them, promiſing, that if they came, the multitude would receive them, and chooſe to be under their gov-

ernment; ſo they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who as I ſaid, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and deſired me to make haſte thither. Accordingly I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither; but found myſelf in danger of my life, from the following occaſion; Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had perſuaded a great many of ſuch as had a quarrel with me to deſert me; but when they heard of my coming they were in fear for themſelves, and came to me, and when they had ſaluted me, they ſaid, that I was an happy man in having behaved myſelf ſo well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me: For they ſaid, that my glory was a credit to them, ſince they had been my teachers and fellow citizens; and they ſaid farther, that it was but juſt that they ſhould prefer my friendſhip to them rather than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they ſtayed that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they ſaid this they took their oaths of it, and thoſe ſuch as are moſt tremendous amongſt us, and ſuch as I did not think fit to diſbelieve. However, they deſired me to lodge ſome where elſe; becauſe the next day was the Sabbath, and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias ſhould be diſturbed [on that day].

54. So I ſuſpected nothing, and went away to Tarichæ; yet did I withal leave ſome to make inquiry in the city how matters went, and whether any thing was ſaid about me: I alſo ſet many perſons all the way that led from Tarichæ to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another if they learned any news from thoſe that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, they all came into the Proſeucha *; it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people; thither Jonathan went in, and though he durſt not openly ſpeak of a revolt, yet did he ſay that their city ſtood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jeſus who was the ruler, made no ſcruple to ſpeak out, and ſaid openly, "O fellow citizens! it is better for you to be in ſubjection to four than to one; and thoſe ſuch as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wiſdom;" and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his ſaying this, Juſtus came in and commended him for what he had ſaid, and perſuaded ſome of the people to be of his mind alſo. But the multitude were not pleaſed with what was ſaid, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unleſs the ſixth hour which was now come had diſſolved the aſſembly, at which

* It is worth noting here, that there was now a great Proſeucha, or place of prayer in the city Tiberias itſelf, though ſuch Proſeucha uſed to be out of cities, as the ſynagogues were within them; of them ſee Le Moyne on Polycarp's epiſtle, page 76. It is alſo worth our remark, that the Jews in the days of Joſephus uſed to dine at the ſixth hour or noon; and that in obedience to their notions of the law of Moſes alſo.

hour our law requires us to go to dinner on Sabbath days; ſo Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off without ſucceſs. When I was informed of theſe affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day about the firſt hour of the day, I came to Taricheæ, and found the multitude ready aſſembled in Proſeucha; but on what account they were gotten together, thoſe that were aſſembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues ſaw me there unexpectedly, they were in diſorder; after which they raiſed a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horſemen were ſeen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs diſtant from the city. Upon which report Jonathan and his colleagues, cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to ſuffer the land to be ſpoiled by the enemy. And this they ſaid with a deſign to remove me out of the city, under the pretence of the want of extraordinary aſſiſtance, while they might diſpoſe the city to my enemy.

55. As for myſelf, although I knew of their deſign, yet did I comply with what they propoſed leſt the people of Tiberias ſhould have occaſion to ſuppoſe, that I was not careful of their ſecurity. I therefore went out; but when I was at the place, I found not the leaſt footſteps of any enemy, ſo I returned as faſt as ever I could, and found the whole council aſſembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accuſations againſt me, as one that had no concern to eaſe them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriouſly. And as they were diſcourſing thus, they produced four letters as written to them from ſome people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come to their aſſiſtance, for that there was an army of Romans, both horſemen and footmen, who would come and lay waſte the country on the third day; they deſired them alſo to make haſte, and not to overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they ſpake truth, and made a clamour againſt me, and ſaid, I ought not to ſit ſtill, but to go away to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen. Hereupon I ſaid, (for I underſtood the meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues), that I was ready to comply with what they propoſed, and without delay to march to the war which they ſpake of, yet did I adviſe them, at the ſame time, that ſince theſe letters declared that the Romans would make their aſſault in four ſeveral places, they ſhould part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, becauſe it was fit for brave men, not only to give counſel, but to take the place of leaders, and aſſiſt their countrymen when ſuch a neceſſity preſſed them; for, ſaid I, it is not poſſible for me to lead more than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleaſed the multitude; ſo they compelled them to go forth to war. But their

deſigns were put into very much diſorder, becauſe they had not done what they deſigned to do, on account of my ſtratagem, which was oppoſite to their undertakings.

56. Now there was one whoſe name was Ananias, a wicked man he was, and very miſchievous; he propoſed that a general religious faſt * ſhould be appointed the next day for all the people, and gave order that at the ſame hour they ſhould come to the ſame place without any weapons, to make it manifeſt before God, that while they obtained his aſſiſtance, they tho't all theſe weapons uſeleſs. This he ſaid, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now I was hereupon forced to comply, leſt I ſhould appear to deſpiſe a propoſal that tended to piety. As ſoon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, to come to them in the morning and deſiring him to come with as many ſoldiers as he poſſibly could, for that they ſhould then be able eaſily to get me into their hands, and to do all that they deſired to do. When John had received this letter, he reſolved to comply with it. As for myſelf, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I eſteemed the moſt courageous, and moſt faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourſelves, if any attack ſhould be made upon us by our enemies. I alſo myſelf took my breaſt-plate, and gird on my ſword, ſo that it might be, as far as was poſſible, concealed, and came into the Proſeucha.

57. Now Jeſus, who was the ruler, commanded that they ſhould exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himſelf, and ſuffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourſelves to our prayers, Jeſus got up, and enquired of me what was become of the veſſels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down, [and] of that uncoined ſilver: And in whoſe poſſeſſion they now were? This he ſaid, in order to drive away time till John ſhould come I ſaid that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias had them all; and I told him that they might aſk them whether I told a lie or not. And when they ſaid they had them, he aſked me, what is become of thoſe twenty pieces of gold which thou didſt receive upon the ſale of a certain weight of uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to thoſe ambaſſadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were ſent by them to Jeruſalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues ſaid, that I had not done well to pay the ambaſſadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedneſs of

* One may obſerve here, That this lay Phariſee Ananias, as we have ſeen he was, ſect. 39. took upon him to appoint a faſt at Tiberias, and was obeyed; tho' indeed it was not out of religion, but knaviſh policy.

the men, I underſtood that a tumult was going to ariſe; and being deſirous to provoke the public to a greater rage againſt the men, I ſaid, "But if I have not done well in paying our ambaſſadors out of the publick ſtock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myſelf."

58. When I had ſaid this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were ſtill more irritated againſt them, upon their openly ſhewing their unjuſt ill-will to me. When Jeſus ſaw this change in the people, he ordered them to depart, but defired the ſenate to ſtay; for that they could not examine things of ſuch a nature, in tumult; and, as the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone, there came one and told Jeſus and his friends privately, that John and his armed men were at hand: Whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themſelves no longer, (and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance; for, had not this been ſo, I had certainly been deſtroyed by John, ſaid, "O you people of Tiberias, leave off this enquiry about the twenty pieces of gold; for Joſephus hath not deſerved to die for them: But he hath deſerved it by his deſire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his ſpeeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had ſaid this, they preſently laid hands upon me and endeavoured to kill me: But, as ſoon as thoſe that were with me ſaw what they did, they drew their ſwords, and threatened to ſmite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people alſo took up ſtones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and ſo they ſnatched me from the violence of my enemies.

59. But, as I was going out a little way, I was juſt upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him, and turned aſide, and eſcaped by a narrow paſſage to the lake, and ſeized on a ſhip, and embarked in it, and ſailed over to Taricheæ. So beyond my expectation, I eſcaped this danger. Whereupon I preſently ſent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, againſt all faith given, I had been very near to deſtruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go againſt John, and utterly to deſtroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I reſtrained them, though they were in ſuch a rage, and deſired them to tarry a while, till we ſhould be informed what orders thoſe ambaſſadors, that were ſent by them to the city of Jeruſalem, ſhould bring thence; for I told them, that it was beſt for them to act according to their determination; whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time alſo John, when the ſnares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Giſchala.

60. Now in a few days those ambassadors whom he had sent came back again and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavours that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said farther, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoin Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country, as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act [on this occasion].

61. Now when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust; and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude [at Jerusalem], that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; and that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole multitude are very mutable. When therefore it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two, [Simon and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias. They also took along with them an hundred soldiers for their guard.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee in the great plain, they about midnight fell among the guards I had set, who

both commanded them to lay aſide their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I ſaid nothing of it for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about it, I ſent a meſſage to the people of Tiberias, and adviſed them to lay their arms aſide, and to diſmiſs their men, that they might go home. But ſuppoſing that Jonathan, and thoſe that were with him, were already arrived at Jeruſalem, they made reproachful anſwers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived another ſtratagem againſt them, for I did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war againſt the citizens. As I was deſirous to draw thoſe men away from Tiberias, I choſe out ten thouſand of the beſt of my armed men, and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie ſtill as an ambuſh, in the villages. I alſo led a thouſand into another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, as did the others, but only four furlongs diſtant from Tiberias, and gave order that when they ſaw my ſignal they ſhould come down immediately; while I myſelf lay with my ſoldiers in the ſight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the ſight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abuſed me greatly. Nay, their madneſs was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and ſtanding about it, they mourned over me in the way of jeſt and ſport; and I could not but be myſelf in a pleaſant humour upon the ſight of this madneſs of theirs.

63. And now being deſirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar with him, I ſent a meſſage to them, and deſired them to come a little way out of the city, with many of their friends to guard them; for I ſaid I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Accordingly Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar, ſuſpecting ſnares were laid for him, ſtaid behind. So when Simon was come out, and his friends with him for his guard, I met him, and ſaluted him with great civility, and profeſſed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me: But a little while afterward I walked along with him, as though I would ſay ſomething to him by himſelf, and, when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village; and, commanding my armed men to come down, I with them made an aſſault upon Tiberias. Now as the fight grew hot on both ſides, and the ſoldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer me, (for my armed men were already fled away,) I ſaw the poſture of my affairs; and encouraging thoſe that were with me, I purſued thoſe of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into the city. I alſo ſent another

band of ſoldiers into the city by the lake, and gave them orders to ſet on fire the firſt houſe they could ſeize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberias thought that their city was taken by force and ſo threw down their arms for fear, and implored, they, their wives and children, that I would ſpare their city. So I was over-perſuaded by their entreaties, and reſtrained the ſoldiers from the vehemency with which they purſued them; while I myſelf, upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my ſoldiers, and went to refreſh myſelf. I alſo invited Simon to ſup with me, and comforted him on occaſion of what had happened; and I promiſed that I would ſend him ſafe and ſecure to Jeruſalem, and withal would give him proviſion for his journey thither.

64. But on the next day I brought ten thouſand men with me and came to Tiberias. I then ſent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they had told me who the men were, I ſent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them proviſions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who ſhould guard them, and ſo I ſent them to Jeruſalem. The people of Tiberias alſo came to me again, and deſired that I would forgive them for what they had done, and they ſaid they would amend what they had done amiſs with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and they beſought me to preſerve what ſpoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for thoſe that had loſt them. Accordingly I enjoined thoſe that had got them to bring them all before us; and when they did not comply for a great while, and I ſaw one of the ſoldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more ſplendid than ordinary I aſked him whence he had it; and he replied, that he had it out of the plunder of the city. I had him puniſhed with ſtripes, and I threatened all the reſt to inflict a ſeverer puniſhment upon them unleſs they produced before us whatſoever they had plundered; and when a great many ſpoils were brought together, I reſtored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to ſay a few things to Juſtus, who hath himſelf written an hiſtory concerning theſe affairs, as alſo to others who profeſs to write hiſtory, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid, either out of ill-will or good-will to ſome perſons to relate falſehoods. Theſe men do, like thoſe who compoſe forged deeds and conveyances; and becauſe they are not brought to the like puniſhment with them, they have no regard to truth. When therefore Juſtus undertook to write about theſe facts, and about the Jewiſh war, that he might appear to have been an induſtrious man, he falſified in what he related about me, and could not ſpeak truth even about his own country:

Whence it is, that being belied by him, I am under a neceſſity to make my defence; and ſo I ſhall ſay what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world theſe things a great while ago. For although it be neceſſary for an hiſtorian to write the truth, yet is ſuch an one not bound ſeverely to animadvert on the wickedneſs of certain men; not out of any favour to them, but out of an author's own moderation. How then comes it to paſs, O Juſtus, thou moſt ſagacious of writers (that I may addreſs myſelf to him as if he were preſent,) for ſo thou boaſteſt of thyſelf, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that ſedition which thy country engaged in both againſt the Romans and againſt the king [Agrippa junior]? For before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jeruſalem, both thou, and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hadſt ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domeſtic ſervant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who ſay this; but ſo it is written in the commentaries of Veſpaſian the emperor, as alſo how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamouring to Veſpaſian at Ptolemais, and deſired that thou, who waſt the author [of that war,] mighteſt be brought to puniſhment. And thou hadſt certainly been puniſhed at the command of Veſpaſian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earneſt entreaty of his ſiſter Bernice, changed the puniſhment from death into a long impriſonment. Thy political adminiſtration of affairs afterward do alſo clearly diſcover both thy other behaviour in life, and that thou waſt the occaſion of thy country's revolt from the Romans; plain ſigns of which I ſhall produce preſently. I have alſo a mind to ſay a few things to the reſt of the people of Tiberias on thy account and to demonſtrate to thoſe that light upon this hiſtory, that you bare no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be ſure, the greateſt cities of Galilee, O Juſtus, were Sepphoris, and thy country Tiberias. But Sepphoris, ſituated in the very midſt of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with eaſe to have been bold and troubleſome to the Romans, if they had ſo pleaſed, yet did it reſolve to continue faithful to thoſe their maſters, and at the ſame time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war, and that they might be out of danger from me, they by a wile got leave of me to fortify their city with walls; they alſo, of their own accord, admitted of a garriſon of Roman legions, ſent them by Ceſtius Gallus, who was then preſident of Syria, and ſo had me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the ſame time that the greateſt of our cities, Jeruſalem, was beſieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemy's power, they ſent no aſſiſtance thither,

as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms againſt the Romans. But as for thy country, O Juſtus, ſituated upon the lake of Genneſareth, and diſtant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara ſixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's juriſdiction, an hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewiſh city near, it might eaſily have preſerved its fidelity [to the Romans,] if it had ſo pleaſed them to do; for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But, as thou ſayeſt, I was *then* the author [of their revolt.] And pray, O Juſtus, who was that author *afterwards?* For thou knoweſt that I was in the power of the Romans before Jeruſalem was beſieged, and before the ſame time Jotapata was taken by force, as well as many other fortreſſes, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons, and to demonſtrate to the king and to the Romans, that it was not of choice, but as forced by neceſſity, that you fell into the war againſt them; but you ſtaid till Veſpaſian came himſelf as far as your walls, with his whole army; and then you did indeed lay aſide your weapons out of fear, and your city had for certain been taken by force, unleſs Veſpaſian had complied with the king's ſupplication for you, and had excuſed your madneſs. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death? nay, you once fell into a tumult one againſt another, and ſlew one hundred and eighty five of your citizens. not on account of your good-will to the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own wickedneſs, and this while I was beſieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay indeed, were there not reckoned up two thouſand of the people of Tiberias during the ſiege of Jeruſalem, ſome of which were ſlain, and the reſt caught and carried captives? But thou wilt pretend that thou didſt not engage in the war ſince thou didſt flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didſt flee to him; but I ſay it was out of fear of me. Thou ſayeſt indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reaſon was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou waſt condemned to die by Veſpaſian, and who beſtowed ſo much riches upon thee, did twice afterward put thee into bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earneſt deſire of Bernice? and, when (after ſo many of thy wicked pranks) he had made thee his ſecretary, he caught thee falſifying his epiſtles, and drove thee away from his ſight. But I ſhall not inquire accurately into theſe matters of ſcandal againſt thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou haſt the aſſurance to ſay, that thou haſt better related theſe affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about

them, whilſt thou didſt not know what was done in Galilee; for thou waſt then at Berytus with the king; nor didſt thou know how much the Romans ſuffered at the ſiege of Jotapata, or what miſeries they brought upon us; nor couldſt thou learn by inquiry what I did during that ſiege myſelf; for all thoſe that might afford ſuch information were quite deſtroyed in that ſiege. But perhaps thou wilt ſay, thou haſt written of what was done againſt the people of Jeruſalem exactly. But how ſhould that be! for neither waſt thou concerned in that war, nor haſt thou read the commentaries of Cæſar; of which we have evident proof, becauſe thou haſt contradicted thoſe commentaries of Cæſar in thy hiſtory. But if thou art ſo hardy as to affirm, that thou haſt written that hiſtory better than all the reſt, why didſt thou not publiſh thy hiſtory while the emperors Veſpaſian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well ſkilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive? for thou haſt had it written theſe twenty years, and then mighteſt thou have had the teſtimony of thy accuracy. But now when theſe men are no longer with us, and thou thinkeſt thou canſt not be contradicted, thou ventureſt to publiſh it. But when I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themſelves, when the facts were almoſt under mens eyes; for I was conſcious to myſelf, that I had obſerved the truth of the facts; and as I expect to have their atteſtation to them, ſo I was not deceived in ſuch expectation. Moreover, I immediately preſented my hiſtory to many other perſons, ſome of which were concerned in the war as was king Agrippa and ſome of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was ſo deſirous that the knowledge of theſe affairs ſhould be taken from theſe books alone, that he ſubſcribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they ſhould be publiſhed; and for Agrippa he wrote me ſixty-two letters, and atteſted to the truth of what I had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here ſubjoined, and thou mayeſt thereby know their contents. "King Agrippa to Joſephus, his dear friend, ſendeth greeting. I have read over thy book with great pleaſure, and it appears to me, that thou haſt done it much more accurately, and with greater care, than have the other writers. Send me the reſt of theſe books. Farewell, my dear friend." "King Agrippa to Joſephus, his dear friend, ſendeth greeting. It ſeems by what thou haſt written, that thou ſtandeſt in need of no inſtruction, in order to our information from the beginning. However when thou comeſt to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou doſt not know." So when this hiſtory was perfected, Agrippa neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt ſay, (for he was entirely a ſtranger to ſuch an evil diſpoſition of mind,) but he wrote this by way of atteſtation to what was true, as all that read hiſtories may do. And ſo much ſhall

be ſaid concerning Juſtus*, which I am obliged to add by way of digreſſion.

66. Now when I had ſettled the affairs of Tiberias, and had aſſembled my friends as a Sanhedrim, I conſulted what I ſhould do as to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans, that I ſhould arm them all, and march againſt John, and puniſh him as the author of all the diſorders that had happened. Yet was not I pleaſed with their determination; as purpoſing to compoſe theſe troubles without bloodſhed. Upon this I exhorted them to uſe the utmoſt care to learn the names of all that were under John; which when they had done, and I thereby was appriſed who the men were, I publiſhed an edict, wherein I offered ſecurity and my right hand to ſuch of John's party as had a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days time to ſuch as would take this moſt advantageous courſe for themſelves. I alſo threatened, that unleſs they threw down their arms, I would burn their houſes, and expoſe their goods to public ſale. When the men heard of this, they were in no ſmall diſorder, and deſerted John; and, to the number of four thouſand, threw down their arms, and came to me. So that no others ſtaid with John but his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred ſtrangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre; and, when John ſaw that he had been outwitted by my ſtratagem, he continued afterward in his own country, and was in great fear of me.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew inſolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the ſtrength of their walls, and becauſe they ſaw me engaged in other affairs alſo. So they ſent to Ceſtius Gallus, who was preſident of Syria, and deſired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or

* The character of this hiſtory of Juſtus of Tiberias, the rival of our Joſephus, which is now loſt, with its only remaining fragment, are given us by a very able critic, Photius, who read that hiſtory. It is in the 33d code of his Bibliotheca, and runs thus. "I have read (ſays Photius) the chronology of Juſtus of Tiberias, whoſe title is this, [*The chronology of*] *the Kings of Judah, which ſucceeded one another.* This [Juſtus] came out of the city Tiberias in Galilee. He begins his hiſtory from Moſes, and ends it not till the death of Agrippa the ſeventh [ruler] of the family of Herod, and the laſt king of the Jews; who took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero, and ſtill more augmented by Veſpaſian. He died in the third year of Trajan, where alſo his hiſtory ends. He is very conciſe in his language, and ſlightly paſſes over thoſe affairs that were moſt neceſſary to be inſiſted on; and being under the Jewiſh prejudices, as indeed he was himſelf alſo a Jew by birth, he makes not the leaſt mention of the appearance of Chriſt, or of what things happened to him, or of the wonderful works that he did. He was the ſon of a certain Jew, whoſe name was *Piſtus*. He was a man, as he is deſcribed by Joſephus, of a moſt profligate character; a ſlave both to money and to pleaſures. In public affairs he was oppoſite to Joſephus; and it is related, that he laid many plots againſt him, but that Joſephus, though he had this his enemy frequently under his power, did only reproach him in words, and ſo let him go without farther puniſhment. He ſays alſo, that the hiſtory which this man wrote is, for the main, fabulous, and chiefly as to thoſe parts where he deſcribes the Roman war with the Jews, and the taking of Jeruſalem."

ſend them a garriſon. Accordingly Gallus promiſed them to come, but did not ſend word when he would come: And, when I had learned ſo much, I took the ſoldiers that were with me, and made an aſſault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for ſhewing their hatred to them, ſince they bore ill will to that city alſo. They then exerted themſelves, as if they would deſtroy them all utterly, with thoſe that ſojourned there alſo. So they ran upon them, and ſet their houſes on fire, as finding them without inhabitants; for the men out of fear ran together to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of deſolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I ſaw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do ſuch things to their countrymen: But ſince they neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations to them,) I bid thoſe my friends, who were moſt faithful to me, and were about me, to give out reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city with a great army; and this I did, that, by ſuch a report's being ſpread abroad, I might reſtrain the violence of the Galileans, and preſerve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this ſtratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themſelves, and ſo they left off plundering, and ran away; and this more eſpecially, becauſe they ſaw me, their general, do the ſame alſo; for, that I might cauſe this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preſerved by this contrivance of mine.

68. Nay indeed Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans alſo upon the following occaſion: The chief men of the ſenate wrote to the king, and deſired that he would come to them, and take poſſeſſion of their city. The king promiſed to come, and wrote a letter in anſwer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bed-chamber, whoſe name was *Criſpus*, and who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried ſuch a letter, they caught him, and brought him to me; but as ſoon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themſelves to their arms. So a great many of them got together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city Aſochis, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamours, and called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king; and deſired leave of me to go down, and utterly deſtroy it; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to thoſe of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and heſ-

ſtated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans; for I could not deny that thoſe of Tiberias had written to the king, and invited him to come to them; for his letters to them in anſwer thereto, would fully prove the truth of that. So I ſat a long while muſing with myſelf, and then ſaid to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended; nor ſhall I forbid you to plunder the city. However, ſuch things ought to be done with diſcretion; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the moſt eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the ſame. Tarry therefore till I ſhall thoroughly find out thoſe authors of our danger, and then you ſhall have them all at once under your power, with all ſuch as you ſhall yourſelves bring in alſo." Upon my ſaying this, I pacified the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters ſhould be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a neceſſary affair of my own, to go out of the kingdom. I then called Criſpus privately, and ordered him to make the ſoldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly deſtroyed a ſecond time, it eſcaped the danger by my ſkilful management, and the care that I had for its preſervation.

70. About this time it was that Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, without my knowledge, ran away to the king; the occaſion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people of Tiberias reſolved to ſubmit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Juſtus tried to perſuade them to betake themſelves to their arms, as being himſelf deſirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] alſo. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for; becauſe the Galileans bore ill-will to thoſe of Tiberias, and on this account of their anger at what miſeries they had ſuffered from them before the war; thence it was, that they would not endure that Juſtus ſhould be their governor. I myſelf alſo, who had been entruſted by the community of Jeruſalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Juſtus, that I had almoſt reſolved to kill him, as not able to bear his miſchievous diſpoſition. He was therefore much afraid of me, leſt at length my paſſion ſhould come to extremity; ſo he went to the king, as ſuppoſing that he ſhould dwell better, and more ſafely with him.

71. Now when the people of Sepphoris had, in ſo ſurpriſing a manner, eſcaped their firſt danger, they ſent to Ceſtius Gallus, and deſired him to come to them immediately, and take poſſeſſion of their city, or elſe to ſend forces ſufficient to repreſs all their enemies incurſions upon them; and at the laſt they did prevail with Gallus to ſend them a conſiderable army, both

of horſe and foot, which came in the night-time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harraſſed by the Roman army, I took thoſe ſoldiers that were about me, and came to Gariſme, where I caſt up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and when I was at twenty furlongs diſtance, I came upon it by night, and made an aſſault upon its walls with my forces; and when I had ordered a conſiderable number of my ſoldiers to ſcale them with ladders, I became maſter of the greateſt part of the city. But ſoon after our unacquaintedneſs with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horſemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loſs of only a ſingle man of our own. And when it afterward came to a battle in the plain againſt the horſemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageouſly for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompaſſing me about, my ſoldiers were afraid, and fled back. There fell in that battle one of thoſe that had been entruſted to guard my body, his name was *Juſtus*, who at this time had the ſame poſt with the king. At the ſame time alſo there came forces, both horſemen and footmen, from the king, and *Sylla* their commander, who was the captain of this guard; this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs diſtance from Julias, and ſet a guard upon the roads both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortreſs Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting proviſions out of Galilee.

72. As ſoon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I ſent two thouſand armed men, and a captain over them, whoſe name was *Jeremiah*, who raiſed a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan, and did no more than ſkirmiſh with the enemy; till I took three thouſand ſoldiers myſelf, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambuſh in a certain valley, not far from the banks, I provoked thoſe that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and gave orders to my own ſoldiers to turn their backs upon them, until they ſhould have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, ſuppoſing that our party did really run away, was ready to purſue them, when our ſoldiers that lay in ambuſh took them on their backs, and put them all into great diſorder. I alſo immediately made a ſudden turn with my own forces, and met thoſe of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hindrance; for the horſe on which I rode, and upon whoſe back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruiſed on my wriſt, and carried into a village named *Cepharnome*, or *Capernaum*. When my ſoldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worſe hurt than I was: And ſo they did not go on with their purſuit any further, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore ſent for the phyſicians, and while I was un-

der their hand, I continued feeverish that day; and as the physicians directed, I was that night removed to Taricheæ.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what happened to me, they took courage again; and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last, for when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Taricheæ to Julias, they were afraid, and retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said, that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace, and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he rebuked the Tyrians for abusing a man who was both a king, and a friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamour against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: So Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction; yet did the king [only] put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent him, with Placidus their commander: He also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered and how he fought his first battle with me near the village Taricheæ, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem; I have accurately related them in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in that book of the Jewish War.

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much care, by means of the great respect that Vespasian shewed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a virgin *, who was from among the

* Here Josephus, a priest, honestly confesses that he did that at the command of Vespasian, which he had before told us was not lawful for a priest to do by the law

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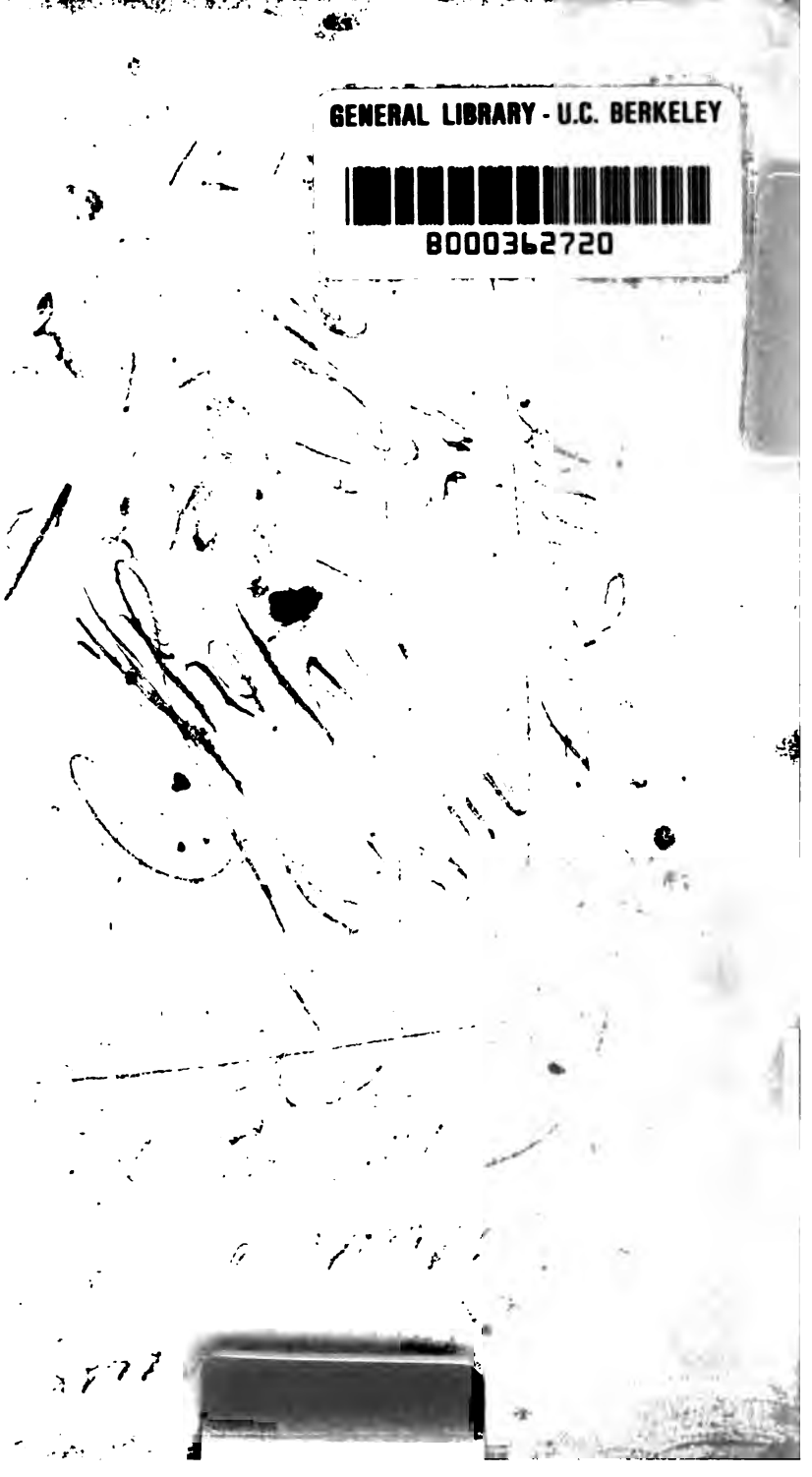
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